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ENGLISH WRITERS

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A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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VI

FROM CHAUCER TO CAXTON

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BOOK V.

From Chaucer to Caxton

CHAPTER I

JOHN BARBOUR

OUR North gained vigour by a war for independence, and had, in the fifteenth century, poets and historians who led the way on to a golden time of Scottish Literature Our South, at the same time, lost vigour by the blight of foreign and domestic wars that brought men into conflict for no cause that lifts the mind The soul stirs nobly in the last man left alive where men fall in the fight for liberty It is not so in the ranks of the aggressor, or in wars raised to determine whether A or B shall be writ large High thoughts are not begotten of low aims From Chaucer's time till the beginning of the sixteenth century our Literature of the North sweeps upward

John Barbour

Chief poet of Scotland in the time of Chaucer was John Barbour, of whose chief poem, "The Bruce," the theme was liberty More than half of it was written by the year 1375 John of Fordoun in those days laid the foundations of a Scottish Chronicle, and brought his collections down to the year 1385, about which time, probably, he died. He

left his work to be continued by Walter Bower, and to form a body of national annals called the "Scotichronicon" Andrew of Wyntoun, who died after the year 1419, shaped also in verse a Chronicle of Scotland, to be chanted by the waysides, and diffused among the people for the strengthening of the good spirit that was in them

John Barbour* died in 1395, four or five years earlier than Chaucer, he was an older man by some years, but by how many it is not now possible to say His hero, the Bruce, died of leprosy in 1329 If we assume the earliest date suggested for the birth of Barbour, 1316, he was a boy of thirteen when Bruce died Lord Hailes has suggested that personal observation is implied in Barbour's description of Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray. Randolph governed for three years after the death of Bruce, and he himself died in July, 1332 If the poet was born as early as the year 1316, he would have been sixteen when Thomas Randolph died, and he would have himself lived to the age of eighty Professor Skeat takes as the conjectural birth date 1320, and the age at death as seventy-six

The earliest known document referring to John Barbour† is a safe-conduct from Edward III, which permitted his coming into England with three scholars for study in the University of Oxford, residence there, and return to Scotland It was dated the 13th of August, 1357, and it described John Barbour as Archdeacon of Aberdeen. We do not know how long he had then been Archdeacon. Canon law did not permit that office to be conferred on a man under the age of twenty-five. This would establish 1332 as the latest possible date for Barbour's birth. To accept that date is to assume that he was made Archdeacon

* The name is spelt also Barber, Barbar, Barbere, Barbare, Barbier, and Barboure.

† In Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. vi, p. 31; "Rotuli Scotiæ," vol. i., p 808.

of Aberdeen as soon as he was old enough to take the office, and that he had just been made Archdeacon when we first find him so called in the safe-conduct of 1357 Each of these assumptions taken separately is improbable, and it is still more improbable that they should both be true The earliest suggested birth-date would make Barbour's age forty-one when we first meet with him as Archdeacon of Aberdeen, taking three students to Oxford He remained Archdeacon of Aberdeen until his death, and that grade in the Church was one more likely to have been attained between the ages of thirty and forty than between twenty and thirty

The safe-conduct of the 13th of August, 1357, was granted by King Edward, "ad supplicationem David de Bruys"—that is to say, at the desire of David II, King of Scotland This David was the only son of Robert Bruce He was about five years old when his father died, and had been married in the preceding year to a child of like age—Joanna, sister to the King of England Scotland was governed during the minority of David II by Regents, of whom the first was Randolph Earl of Moray, Regent until his death in 1332 Then followed, as Regent, Bruce's nephew, Donald Earl of Mar Donald was routed and slain by Edward, son of John Baliol Baliol was crowned at Scone, and quickly driven out of Scotland, Archibald Douglas having become Regent But Edward Baliol returned with forces of King Edward III, and on the 20th of July, 1333, Archibald Douglas and the Scots were defeated at Halidon Hill Edward Baliol, on the 10th of February, 1333, surrendered Berwick absolutely to the King of England, and promised to put into his power the castles of Jedburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, as security for a yearly payment of two thousand pounds David II, a ten-year-old king, with his child-wife Joanna and his sisters, in May, 1334,

went to France There Philip VI offered them friendship and protection According to the earliest estimate of his birth-year, John Barbour was eighteen years old when Bruce's son was driven to France and had a home found for him by King Philip VI in the Château Gaillard, built by Richard Cœur de Lion, near Les Andeleys

During the next few years leaders arose in Scotland who maintained successfully the patriotic struggle, and recovered all the castles taken by the English, John Barbour then being a young man who cared greatly for his country's cause. In 1341 David II, then aged seventeen, returned to Scotland, and governed without a Regent. He was in the next years much at Aberdeen, and at Kildrummie, higher up the Don, where his aunt—Robert Bruce's sister—lived. Then followed his capture by John Copland at the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 It is possible that personal interest of the young king in John Barbour's devotion to the memory of Robert Bruce established, between 1341 and 1346, a friendship that advanced Barbour's promotion in the Church, so that he may have been made Archdeacon of Aberdeen in or a little before the year 1346 Even if born in 1320, he would have reached the canonical age for admission to such an office After 1346 David II was for eleven years the prisoner of England He was called in English state papers simply David de Bruys, while Edward Baliol, treated as the nominal King of Scotland, was led to renounce his crown and kingdom in favour of England on the 21st of January, 1356

Treaty for the ransom of David de Bruys had been going on from year to year Commissioners appointed at Perth on the 27th of January, 1357, settled preliminaries in August, to which a Parliament at Edinburgh agreed on the 26th of September in that year. The treaty was concluded a week later at Berwick on the 3rd of October. It is not unlikely that John Barbour's pass—good for a year—to

Oxford* was obtained by David II with some reference to friendly service that could be done by Barbour as he came by the negotiators on his way out and home, for a nomination by the Bishop of Aberdeen, dated the 13th of December, appoints the Bishop of Brechin, David of Mar, the Pope's chaplain, and John Archdeacon of Aberdeen, as his procurator-general, to join in the deliberations of that month at Edinburgh about the ransom of David II, then finally to be settled on the part of Scotland Barbour sat, therefore, in the Parliament which on the 26th of September, 1357, agreed to pay for the king's ransom, in ten instalments, a hundred thousand English marks

David II lived as King of Scotland twelve or thirteen years after his return from England His difficulty in obtaining money for the ransom gave to the Scots opportunity of strengthening the guarantees of their own national rights by strengthening provisions of the law against undue use of the power of the Crown David would have paid part of his ransom by selling to Edward III the succession to the throne of Scotland, nominating Edward's second son, Lionel Duke of Clarence But when he proposed that the King of England, or else his son, might be sent for into Scotland to succeed him in the kingdom if he should chance to die, the Assembly of the Three Estates at Scone, in 1363, abruptly refused compliance, in the words of George Buchanan "before every one's vote could be asked in order, they all confusedly cried out upon it as an abominable proposition"

The Assembly of the Estates then renewed its adherence

* "Sciatis quod ad supplicationem David de Bruys suscepimus Johannem Barber, archidiaconum de Abredene, veniendo cum tribus scolaribus in comitiva sua in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa studendi in universitate Oxoniæ et ibidem actus scolasticos exercendo, morando, et exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo, in protectionem et defensionem nostram, necnon in salvum et securum conductum nostram," etc.

to the settlement of the succession on Robert the High Steward which had been first made by Bruce In spite of continued plots between David II and Edward III for an English succession—through which, if successful, David was to be paid by the cancelling of all that remained due of his ransom—after David II. died, childless, on the 22nd of February, 1371, Robert Stewart succeeded him as Robert II The spirit of liberty had thriven by adversity during these last twelve years of David's reign Exaction of the ransom money pressed on the resources of the people There was a great storm, that made all Lothian seem to be in flood, that carried away bridges, water-mills, houses, owners, and cattle, into the sea, and half destroyed the towns on river banks Upon this followed the great pestilence of 1361, consuming many of all ranks and ages Such trials add strength to the strong, and John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who put his heart into the story of the Bruce, caught from the times in which he lived no taint of weakness or servility

In 1364, among safe conducts to several Scottish clergy who came to study in England there is one to John Barber, for himself and four horsemen, dated the 4th of November. In the next year, 1365, on the 16th of October, among safe-conducts granted, there is one for "John Barbere, Archdeacon of Aberdeen" for himself and six companions on horseback until the feast of St. Dionysius, which would be on the 3rd of the same month next year In 1368, on the 30th of November, "Magister Johannes Barber de Scotia clericus," has letters of safe-conduct for one year, for himself with two servants and two horses, to come and go anywhere by sea or land within the king's dominions, to pass from thence to France for the purpose of study, and to return to Scotland

In the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland John Barber, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, is entered on the 7th of February,

1372, and again on the 13th of February, 1373, as sitting at Perth among the venerable and discreet men who served the king as auditors, and he is described as "clericus probationis," clerk of the audit of the household of our lord the king The king here is Robert II, who had succeeded to the throne vacant in February, 1371, though his crowning was delayed by opposition until March, 1371, and in whose reign Barbour says that he wrote his poem of "The Bruce."

In the thirteenth of the twenty books into which Barbour's "Bruce" has been divided, Barbour tells of the marriage of the Bruce's daughter to Walter Stewart, and the birth of a son, who was named Robert after his grandfather, which Robert

> "syne wes king,
> And had the land in goueinyng
> Efter his worthy eyme,* Davy,
> That regnyt twa ȝer and fourty
> And in tyme of the compyling
> Of this buk, this Robert wes kyng,
> And of his kynrik passit was
> v ȝeir, and wes the ȝer of grace
> Ane thousand thre hundreth and sevinty
> And v, and of his elde sexty
> And that was eftir the Gud King
> Robert was brocht till his endying,
> Sex and fourty vyntir, but mar

This date is set by Barbour to his poem when more than half of the poem—almost two-thirds of it—had been written The Good King Robert—the Bruce himself, of Bannockburn—died on the 7th of June, 1329, forty-six years after this date gives 1375 Robert, the son of Walter Stewart, was born on the 2nd of March, 1316, he entered, therefore, upon his sixtieth year on the 3rd of March, 1375, and he entered upon the fifth year of his reign on the 22nd of the preceding February

* *Eyme*, uncle.

In the fiist yeais of the reign of Robert II, before and after the death of Edward III, in June, 1377, there were many border conflicts between English and Scots At the close of the year 1378 Berwick was taken by the Scots, and nine days afterwards retaken by the English In the spring of 1380, William the first Earl of Douglas made a raid into England with twenty thousand men, ravaged Cumberland and Westmoreland, buint Penrith, and returned to Scotland with great booty, including forty thousand cattle. But he brought home with him also the plague, which raged in Scotland for the next two years, and was greater than any before This plague spread into Ireland, where it destroyed great numbers of people, and was known in 1383 as the Fourth Pestilence In such days of trouble, with his hero's grandson on the throne of Scotland, Barbour wrote the poem that in the name of liberty poured memories of Bruce throughout the land in which his name lived as the fieeman's battle-cry

In March, 1377, the Archdeacon of Abeideen received, by command of the king, ten pounds, for an audit at Dundee of the customs accounts of the borough of Aberdeen

On the 29th of August, 1378, there was a grant made by King Robert, "dilecto clerico nostro Johanni Barber, archidiacono Aberdonensi," of a perpetual pension of twenty shillings from the rent of the lands and fisheries that Aberdeen held of the Crown, with freedom to assign it to any person or place in mortmain for the health of his soul Barbour did, in fact, transfer this pension on the 24th of June, 1380, two yeais after the grant of it, and sixteen years before his death, to the cathedral church of Aberdeen, for celebration of a yearly vigil and mass for his soul and for the souls of his parents, and of all who have died in the faith He defined, also, in what proportions the twenty shillings should be distributed among the clergy concerned,

after reserving twelve pence for the sacristans who rang the bells

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland continue to record the presence of John Barber, Barbere, or Barbier, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, at annual audits held at Perth or Stirling, with payments to him of five or ten pounds—one of six pounds thirteen and fourpence—"ex dono regis," for his trouble

In 1388, on the 5th of December, there was another grant from King Robert of a pension, "dilecto nostro Johanni Barbar, archidiacono Aberdonensi," for his faithful service This time the pension was of ten pounds yearly, payable during his lifetime, by the king's Chamberlain for the time being, out of the great customs of Aberdeen, in two equal portions, at Pentecost and Martinmas

Other records show that Barbour continued to assist at annual audits on the king's behalf, and that he occasionally witnessed legal papers with his signature. He is entered in the Bishops' Registry at Aberdeen as having died in 1395, on the 13th of March He had named the Wednesday following the first Sunday after Easter—"the Sunday on which *Quasi modo geniti* is sung"—as his anniversary for celebration of the mass he had appointed This day was changed, after his death, to the 13th of March

There is little reason to doubt that the perpetual annuity of twenty shillings granted to Barbour by King Robert, on the 29th of August, 1378, marked the completion of his "Bruce" The use to which he put the money, and for which it was given, was only a practical reading of the old end to a poet's work, that asked its readers to pray for the soul of him who made the book The last sentence, also, of "The Bruce" is a prayer that the One God in Trinity may bring us on high to heaven's bliss, where joy is everlasting The life pension of ten pounds, in 1388, looked only to this world, and was given, perhaps, for another work, a Genealogy of the Stewarts, of which hereafter We may safely

assume, therefore, that Barbour wrote his chief poem within a period between the 22nd of February, 1371, and the 29th of August, 1378, not quite two-thirds of it having been written by the latter part of the year 1375 In the early part of that year he could hardly have said, but he could fairly say as the year drew to a close, that King Robert was sixty years old, and had reigned five years We may turn now to John Barbour's poem upon Robert I

The Bruce

Stories are delightful to read if they be only fable, true stories then, if well told, should have a double pleasantness—one in the telling and the other in the truth If my wit suffice, I would fain set my will to put in writing a true story, that no length of time may make it to be wholly forgotten For old stories that men read represent to them the deeds of stalwart men that lived erewhile,

"And certis thai suld weill hawe prys
That in thar tyme war wycht* and wys,"

and led their lives in great labour, often winning praise of chivalry in the hard stour of battle, and were void of cowardice,

"As wes king Robert of Scotland,
That hardy wes of hart and hand;
And gud Schyr Jamés off Douglás
That in his tyme sa worthy was,
That off his price and hys bounté
In fer landys renownyt wes he
Off thaim I thynk this buk to ma,
Now god gyff grace that I may swa
Tret it, and bring it till endỳng,
That I say nocht bot suthfast thing!"

"Qwhen Alysandre oure kyng was dede,
That Scotland had to stere and lede,"

the land was desolate for six years and more The baronage at last assembled, and tried to choose a king who had the best claim by

* *Wycht*, vigorous

descent from royal ancestors But envy bred dissension, for some would have the Baliol to be king, because he was descended from the eldest sister, others said that he should rule who came of as near degree from the next male in the collateral branch, and that the lord of Annandale, Robert the Bruce, Earl of Carrick, ought to succeed to the kingdom Thus the barons were at discord, till at last they all agreed that Sir Edward, King of England, should be arbiter, and swear to let him reign that had the right, for at that time there was peace between Scotland and England, and they trusted that the King of England would, as a good neighbour, judge loyally But the game went otherwise Ah, blind folk full of all folly, if you had carefully bethought you how that king sought always to win lordship over border lands, as Wales and Ireland, which he put to such thraldom, that men of high rank must run on foot with the rabble when he went to war, no Welshman dared ride in battle, nor yet abide after sunset in a castle or walled town, on peril of life and limb! In such thraldom he held those whom his power overcame, ye might have seen that he would beguile those whom he could not master Had ye taken heed what thraldom is, and how his usage was ever to grasp, never to give, you should have chosen rightly without judgment of his Wales might have served you for example, if ye had foreseen

> "And wys men sayis he is happy
> That be othir will him chasty,
> For unfayr thingis may fall, perfay,
> Als weill to-morn as ȝhisterday"

But ye trusted, like simple folk who have no evil in themselves, and knew not what should happen afterwards For in this wide world God only knows what shall befall with changes of the times

Thus the barons were agreed, and by assent of them all, messengers were sent to Sir Edward, who warred then against Saracens in the Holy Land And when he knew what charge they had, he turned from his purpose there, made quickly for England, and sent word into Scotland that they should call an Assembly, and that he would come speedily to do all that they asked But his wily thought was to find the way through their debate to win for himself the mastery And to Robert the Bruce said he, "If thou wilt hold in chief of me, for ever more, and thine offspring, I shall do so thou shalt be king" "Sir," said he, "so God me save, the kingdom yearn I not to have unless it fall of right to me, and if God will that it so be, I shall as freely in all thing hold it as becomes a king, or as my elders before me held it in

freest royalty" Edward sware in his wrath that Bruce should never have it But Sir John the Baliol assented to all his will, and much ill came of this He was king but a little while, and through great subtlety and guile, for little reason or for none, he was arrested and degraded, whether rightfully or wrongfully God knows

When Sir Edward had thus done as he would with John the Baliol, he went in haste to Scotland, and took all from Wick by Orkney to the Mull of Galloway, and filled it all with Englishmen Sheriffs and bailiffs and all officers that have charge of the land's affairs he made to be of the English nation, and they became so wicked and covetous, so proud and contemptuous, that nothing Scotchmen did could please them If one was wroth at outrage on his wife or daughter, they found means for his destruction If one had horse or hound that was to their liking, they would have it, and whoso gainsaid, would lose his land or life, or live in pain For little or no reason they hanged good knights Alas, that folk who had been always free should by mischance and folly come to have their foes their judges! What can man have of greater wretchedness?

> "A! fredome is a noble thing!
> Fredome mays man to haiff liking,
> Fredome all solace to man giffis
> He levys at ese that frely levys!
> A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
> Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
> Gyff fredome failʒhe, for fre liking
> Is ʒharnit* our all other thing
> Na he that ay has levyt fre
> May nocht knaw weill the propyrté,
> The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
> That is cowplyt to foul thyrldome
> But gyff he had assayit it,
> Than all perquer† he suld it wyt,
> And suld think fredome mar to prys
> Than all the gold in world that is"

Thus we learn things by their contraries The thrall has yielded all to his lord, his wealth, his will He cannot do what his heart draws him to Clerks dispute whether he must not turn from his wife at the call of his master, the bond of thraldom being stronger than the

* *ʒharnit*, yearned for † *Perquer* (par cœur) by heart.

closest bond of marriage Thraldom is worse than death, for the thrall is marred as long as he lives, body and bones, death troubles him but once

Thus they all lived in thraldom, the poor men and the noble For of the lords were some they slew, and some they hanged, and some they drew, some they put in prison without cause, and among these Sir William of Douglas, of whom they made a martyr When they had slain him in prison, they gave his fair lands to the lord of Clifford Douglas had a little son who grew afterwards to be of great prowess, and so avenged his father that, I trow, there was no man living in England that did not dread him He was not to be daunted, but would give good thought to the doing of whatever he was set upon He lived his life in pain and travail, letting no mischance stay him as he laboured to push right on, straight to his end, then take the fate that God would send His name was James of Douglas, and when he heard, as a boy, that his father was in prison and his lands given to Clifford, he had no goods and none to furnish him, and was at a loss, till he resolved suddenly to cross the sea and be a while at Paris And at Paris he lived simply in idle pleasures of the young, as it may often avail, as it availed greatly the good Earl Robert of Artois, and Cato says that to feign a folly sometimes is wit He dwelt nearly three years in Paris, and then tidings came over the sea that his father had been done to death Then he thought, in his trouble of mind that he would go home and see whether he could win his heritage again and free his people

He came in haste to St Andrews, where the Bishop received him honourably, caused him to wear his weapons, clothed and lodged him He lived there for some time, wise, courteous, and debonair He was liberal and loving, and above all things leal Leal men are greatly to be loved, for their lives are righteous, strength and wisdom without loyalty can win no praise, only the leal man is so good

> "that he
> May symply gud man callyt be"

James Douglas had his heart set on high honour, he did not deign to deal with treachery or falsehood He was not so fair that we should speak greatly of his beauty, his face was somewhat grey and his hair black, but his limbs were well made, with great bones and broad shoulders He was meek and gentle among friends, with a lisp in speech that well became him, but a man of might in battle, who so wrought in his time that he was greatly loved

And on a time there came King Edward with proud following to

hold an assembly at Stirling. Many a baron went thither, and thither went also Bishop William of Lamberton and James of Douglas in his company. The Bishop led him to the King, and said, "Sire, here to you I bring this child who claims your man to be, and prays of you par charité, that ye receive here his homage and grant to him his heritage." "What lands claims he?" said the king. "He claims, if it like you, the lordship of Douglas, for his father had it." Then the king was wroth and said, "Sir Bishop, if you would keep faith, you would not ask this of me. His father was my foe, and died, for treason, in my prison. I, therefore, ought to be his heir. Go, let him get land where he may. His father's lands go to the Clifford, who has served me loyally." The bishop dared not answer, and the king having done that he came to do, went back to England.

Lordings who may like to hear, the Romance beginneth here of men that were in great distress and suffered many hardships before they could attain their purpose. But God sent His grace to aid their valour, and brought them to honour, though against each one of them there were a thousand foes; for where God helps, what may withstand? Like the Maccabees, they freed their country from the people who held them and theirs in thraldom. So be their name beloved!

This lord, the Bruce, had pity when he saw the ruin of the kingdom and the troubles of its folk, but made no show of what he felt, till on a time, as they rode together from Stirling, Sir John Comyn said to him, "Sir, will ye not see how the people are slain without reason, and the land held, of which ye should be lord? Trust to me, and ye shall have yourself made king, with my help, if ye will give me all the land that ye have now in your hand. If ye will not do so, take my lands and help me to be the king. And all will help gladly to free themselves." "If ye will it be so," Bruce answered, "I will take the State on me, for it is mine by right, and right will often give strength to the weak." So they agreed, and the same night wrote their indentures to confirm the promise. Woe be to treason, against which no wisdom can be sure! Troy, Alexander, Cæsar, were betrayed. Modred, his sister's son, slew Arthur. Comyn rode straight to the King of England, told all, and gave Edward the indenture.

The King swore vengeance against Bruce, and promised a reward to Comyn, who thought that he should lead all Scotland if Bruce went to his death.

> "But oft failȝeis the fulis thoct,
> And wys mennis etling.*

* *Etling*, intending. Icelandic *ætla*, to think, mean, purpose; *ætlan*, thought.

> Cummys nocht ay to that ending
> That thai think it sall cum to
> For god wate weill quhat is to do "

Comyn went home, and the king summoned a Parliament, and bade the Lord Bruce to the gathering And he, seeing no treason, rode straight to London, and there lodged on the first day of the assembly In the morning he went to Court, and the king called the lord the Bruce before his Privy Council, showed him the indenture, and asked whether he had sealed it Bruce looked intently on the seal, and said humbly, "How simple I am ! My seal is not always with me , another carries it Give me respite until to-morrow that I may see to it, and I give all my heritage in pledge that without further delay I will enter it before your full Council " The king took his pledge, and let him go out with the letter

[II] * The Bruce, glad of that respite, went straight to his lodging, bade his marshal make his men good cheer and leave him to be private in his chamber with one clerk and no more He and his clerk left on two steeds, rode day and night, and in fifteen days were at Lochmaben, where he told his brother Edward how he had escaped from danger of his life Sir John the Comyn was then at Dumfries near by The Bruce rode straight to him, met with him at the high altar in the Friar's Church, laughed as he showed him the indenture, and slew him Sir Edward Comyn also was slain, with others Nevertheless, some say that the strife came otherwise, but however it arose, Comyn was killed, and Bruce in breaking sanctuary of the altar was a great misdoer, wherefore mishap befell him greater than I have ever heard Romance tell of a man who at last came to such welfare

Now go we again to the king, who in the morning sat in Parliament, and sent knights after the Lord Bruce to his lodging His men had not seen him since yesterday, there was no answer to their knocking at his chamber door They broke the door open and found him gone They told the king he had escaped, and Edward sware in his wrath that the Bruce should be drawn and hanged And Bruce, when he had slain Sir John Comyn in the church, went back to Lochmaben, and sent letters to his friends on every side that they should come with their

* John Barbour himself did not divide his poem into books I note in square brackets the manner of the division into twenty books first made by Pinkerton in 1790, and since usually accepted for convenience of study, although Jamieson, in 1820, made the number of the books fourteen As a poem, "The Bruce" runs its course best without halts upon the way.

people, and assembled his own men, and thought that he would make himself king It ran through all the land that Bruce had slain the Comyn, and to the Bishop of St Andrews there came letters telling how that baron was slain And he read it all at dinner to his men, and said to them, "Surely I hope that the prophecy of Thomas of Erceldoune shall be true in him, for, as the Lord is my helper,

'I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
And haiff this land all in leding'"

James of Douglas, that always carved before the Bishop, heard the letter read, and took good heed to all the Bishop said, and after the boards were laid away, James Douglas said privily to the Bishop in his chamber that he desired to share the fortunes of the Bruce, and hoped to win again his land through him, despite the Clifford and his kin "Sweet son," the Bishop said to him, "I would you were with him But that I may not be blamed, take Ferrand my palfrey, there is none readier, take it as of your own will, and by no counsel from me, and if his keeper demurs, take it in spite of him, so I shall be absolved God grant that he to whom you go, and thou, take no hurt from your foes" He gave him silver to spend, and his benison, and bade him go, for he would speak no more till he was gone The Douglas went for the horse, knocked down the groom, who resisted, saddled the horse, lithely leaped on, and was away without leave-taking God save him from his foes! He took the way towards Lochmaben, and met Bruce a little way from Arrick stone, in the head of Annandale Bruce was with a great following, on his way to be crowned at Scone Douglas paid homage to him as his rightful king, told who he was, and offered ready following through good and ill Bruce gave him men and arms, and had faith in the stock of which he came Thus came they together, whom afterwards no chance divided until their lives' end Their friendship grew ever more and more, one loyal in service, and the other loving in reward

The Lord Bruce rode to Glasgow, gathered friends about him, and then rode in haste to Scone, where he was crowned, and received homage Then he went through the land, obtaining friendships to maintain the work he had begun He knew there would be a hard battle before him ere the land was won

And when King Edward heard how Comyn had been slain, and Bruce made king, he well nigh went out of his wits, and called to him Sir Aymer de Valence, a wise and worthy knight, bade him take men-at-arms, and make all haste to Scotland, to burn, slay, harry the land,

and promise all Fife for reward to him who should either take or slay Robert the Bruce Sir Aymer did as the king bade With him went Sir Philip the Mowbray and Sir Ingram the Umfraville, and the chief part of Scotland was still in their hand They went in a rout to Perth, then walled about with battlements and towers to resist assault, and therein dwelt Sir Aymer with all his chivalry King Robert knew where he was, and what chieftains were with him He gathered his men, and the Englishmen were fifteen hundred more than they But his men were doughty, and his barons bold as boars With him also were two earls, Lennox and Athol Edward the Bruce was there, and Thomas Randolph, and Hugh de la Hay, and Sir David the Barclay, Fraser, Somervile, and Inchmartin, and many another strong in fight In good battle array they came before St John's Town, which is Perth, and bade Sir Aymer issue out to fight But Sir Ingram of Umfraville, seeing peril, advised against attacking strong men well ranged and provided for the fight "Tell them," said he, "that they may rest to-night, and you will fight with them to morrow if they do not fail When they are unarmed for rest, or scattered foraging, we can ride boldly down upon them" So was done the rest was offered, halt was made at the wood of Methven, a third part of Bruce's men went foraging, the rest, unarmed, were scattered in search of resting places here and there Sir Aymer then, with all the force he had, dashed straight to Methven Bruce, the king, who was unarmed, saw them coming and called to his men, "To arms! be swift, our foes are here at hand" They armed them in great haste and leapt upon their horses When they were assembled the king displayed his banner and said, "Lordings, ye see now that yon folk would do by cunning what they cannot do by strength, and he must rue it who would trust his foe Nevertheless, though they be many, God decides our fate It is not multitude gives victory Each one of you is full of chivalry, and knows right well what honour is So fight, that honour shall be saved And one thing let me tell you, that he who dies to save his country shall be lodged in heaven" Ready on either side, they stretched their spears, and crashed against each other till spears broke and men fell dead or wounded, and the grass became blood red Out swept the swords, the ranks shook with the strokes given and taken Wherever Bruce came men gave way, but the enemy won ground against his people Bruce in vexation raised his war cry, rushed into the uproar, hewed down all he overtook "On them!" he cried to his men, "on them! They flinch The struggle will be short!" And with the word he struck with such good will that all must hold him for a doughty knight. But the weaker force began to fail, fled, and was

scattered, while the good knight, chafed with anger, held the field Sir Aymer, when he saw this, rallied to him many a knight, and rushed into the fray Sir Thomas Randolph was then taken, and Sir Alexander Fraser, and Sir David Barclay, Inchmerton, and Hugh de la Hay, and Somervile, and other more And Sir Philip the Mowbray rode hard on the king himself, and seized his rein, and cried, "Help ! help ! I have the new made king !" Sir Christopher Seytoun dealt a stroke that made the Mowbray stagger, his hand dropped from the bridle The king shouted his war-cry, rallying his men, who were too few to fight on, and pricked them out of the press The Bruce, seeing this, assented to retreat from enemies too weary to pursue The English drew back into Perth, none venturing to rest without the wall When King Edward heard of the victory he bade draw and hang all prisoners, but Sir Aymer did not so He gave life and land to those who would serve the King of England and make war upon the Bruce Thomas Randolph was one, and of the rest

> "Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew,
> And sum thai hangyt, and sum thai drew"

The Bruce mourned for his men, and could trust none that were not in his company, and they were not more than about five hundred His brother, Sir Edward, was always with him, and a bold baron, Sir William the Boroundoun, the Earl of Athol was there also, but the Earl of Lennox was put to hard trial before he met the king again James of Douglas was with the king, and Sir Gilbert de la Hay, Sir Neill Campbell, and others, who lived as outlaws many a day, as outlaws on the hills They durst not go into the plains, for there the commons had gone over to the English, who could give them peace No man can put trust in the commons except he who is able to defend them Bruce could not help them, they turned therefore to the other side, but the thraldom they then felt caused them earnestly to wish that he might prosper Bruce and his men lived on the hills until their clothes were rent and riven and they had no shoes but what they made for themselves of hides Therefore they went to Aberdeen, when Bruce's youngest brother Nigel and his queen came

> "And othir ladyès fayr and faránd *
> Ilkane for luft of thar husbánd,
> That for leyle luff and leawté

* *Farand*, handsome.

Wald partnerys off thar paynys be
Thai chesyt tyttar with thaim to ta *
Angyr and payn, na be thaim fra
For luff is off sa mekyll mycht
That it all paynys makys lycht,
And mony tyme mais † tendir wychtis
Of swilk strenthtis and swilk mychtis
That thai may mekill paynys endur,
And forsakis nane aventur
That euyr may fall, with-thi that thai
Tharthrow succui thair liffys mai

* * * * *

In wemen mekill comfort lyis,
And gret solace on mony wise

Here they found rest until the English gathered to attack them by surprise Bruce, watchful, knew their plans Then he and his men rode away, the ladies by their side, and worthy James of Douglas was always busy in many ways to get venison and fish for the ladies' meat There was no man of more help to the ladies than James Douglas, and the king was often supported by his wit and his activity So they came to the head of the Tay [III], near to the home of the Lord of Lorne, who desired to avenge on Bruce the death of his uncle, John Comyn John of Lorne attacked Bruce with a thousand footmen, armed with battleaxes, and many of the king's horses were killed Bruce's men retired slowly, the king last, beating off pursuers till they dared no longer follow The Lord of Lorne, in anger and wonder, said that Bruce had withdrawn his men from them just as Goll M'Moina used to withdraw his from Fingal He might better be compared to Sir Gandifer de Larys in the "Romance of Alexander," only Gandifer was killed and Bruce was not

Two bold brothers Macindrosser—that is to say, sons of the door-keeper—had sworn to kill Bruce or die in the attempt, a third joined in their vow They caught him in a narrow pass between a hill and a loch-side One seized his bridle, but a blow from Bruce made arm and shoulder fly. Another caught Bruce by the leg and put a hand between his foot and stirrup, the third leapt from the hill-side on his horse Bruce spurred his horse forward, cleft the head of the man upon his horse, and then slew him whom he was dragging by the stirrup Thereafter none was so bold that he durst attack the king.

* Chose rather to take with them. † Makes.

A Baron Macnaughten praised to the Lord of Lorne the knighthood of the Bruce It seems then, said the Lord of Lorne, "seems that it pleases you, perfay, that he so slays our men" "Not so," said he; "but we should speak loyally of friend or foe who wins the praise of chivalry,

"And sekyrly, in all my tyme,
Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryme,
Tell of a man that swa smartly
Eschewyt * swa gret chewalry"

That night the king set his watches and addressed his men, and told them a tale of Hannibal and Scipio, in evidence—

"That na man suld disparyt be,
Na let his hart be wencusyt † all,
For na myscheiff that euir may fall
For nane wate in how litill space
That God umquhile will send his grace"

Thus the king comforted his men, often telling them old stories, as of the activity of Cæsar, showing that he who persists in any attainable purpose cannot well fail to achieve it partly, and if he live long enough, he may achieve it all

"Forthi suld nane haiff disparing
For till eschew a full gret thing
For giff it fall he tharoff failȝe,
The fawt may be in his trawailȝe

Distresses deepened John of Athol lost heart through labour, cold, hunger, and watching, and he, with Nigel Bruce, the queen, and ladies, who wept much at the leave-taking, was sent away to the strong castle of Kildrummie, where they could defy assault as long as there was meat and drink in store King Bruce was left in the mountains with no more than two hundred men, and winter drawing near He saw his men, disturbed with hunger and sharp rains and cold, lying of nights upon the hill side, with constant watch against attack, and he resolved to go and winter in Cantyre, returning next spring to the mainland to try his fortune to the end Sir Nigel Campbell, sent before, had, in twelve days, found shipping and meat enough In

* Achieved. † Vanquished.

three days the king came to Loch Lomond, where they crossed, three at a time, in a small boat found by James of Douglas, while some swam over with loads upon their backs While waiting until all had crossed, Bruce comforted the men who were about him by reading to them romances of Fierabras and Charlemagne

> "The gud king, upon this manér
> Comfórtyt thaim that war him ner,
> And maid thaim gamin and solás
> Till that his folk all passyt was"

Then they went in two parties to hunt venison, and the Earl of Lennox, who happened to be there among the hills, wondered at sound of horns and hunters' cries When he found that the king was near, whom he had thought dead, there were tears of joy at their meeting It was not properly weeping Women can wet their cheeks with tears when they list, but though joy or pity may cause water to rise from the heart into the eyes, it resembles weeping, but is no such thing True weeping of men comes only from sorrow or from anger The Earl had plenty of meat He gave it with glad heart, and they ate it with full goodwill, asking no sauce but appetite They told him of their piteous adventures, and he told them his There were none that had not pleasure in the tales of perils passed,

> "For quhen men oucht at liking ar,
> To tell off paynys passyt by
> Plesys to hering wonderly,
> And to rehers thar auld disese
> Dois thaim oft-sys confórt and ese,
> With-thi thar-to folow na blame,
> Dishonour, wikytness, na schame."

The king, after the meat, went seaward, and was met by Sir Nigel Campbell ready with ships and meat, sails, oars, and other things to speed their crossing Stalwart square fists, accustomed to span spears, spanned oars They rowed by the isle of Bute, but the Earl of Lennox, I know not how it was, left far behind with his galley, was pursued, and escaped only by throwing goods into the sea, which lightened the boat, while the pursuers stayed to pick up what they found floating Bruce was content with the loss, since Lennox was saved, but warned him of the need of keeping close together Angus, then lord and leader of Cantyre, received the king right well, and gave

him the castle of Dunaverty to live in at his liking But he had not knowledge enough for a firm trust, and after three days he sailed with his men for the isle of Rathlin, over a wild sea The people of Rathlin fled to a castle when they saw the landing of armed men, but they were followed swiftly and brought unhurt to Bruce They agreed to supply food daily for three hundred, and became the king's men

[IV] Let us leave the king at rest in Rathlin, and speak now of his foes They spared none, churchman or layman, who was in any way akin or friend to Bruce Sir Christopher Seytoun, betrayed by a false traitor, Macnab, was drawn, beheaded, and hung in chains Sir Ranald Crauford and Sir Brice the Blair were hanged in a barn in Ayr The queen and Dame Marjorie, her daughter, left Kildrummie and rode through Ross to take sanctuary at Tain But they of Ross, fearing danger through them, took them out of sanctuary, and sent them to the king, who always drew and hanged the men, and put the ladies into prison Sir Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Athol were well victualled in Kildrummie The king sent his eldest son, Sir Edward of Carnarvon, a young bachelor stark and fair, who then was Prince of Wales, together with the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, to Scotland to besiege Kildrummie Castle It was so well defended that the besiegers had no hope But there was a false traitor within, named Osbarn, who made a coulter red-hot and threw it among the corn that filled the great hall Fire spread within, there was the foe without The garrison still fought The entrance gate was burnt, but, for the heat of fire, the assailants would not enter till next day, when the entrance was blocked by the defenders; but with their food destroyed, they were compelled to treat for a surrender, and yielded to the king's will, which meant, as was well known soon afterwards, that they would be all hanged and drawn

When King Edward heard of the stand made against his son at Kildrummie, he gathered a great host, and went in haste toward Scotland , but as he entered Northumberland, a sickness took him in the way, and he was brought into a hamlet near by When he heard that they called it Burgh on the Sand, he said "Call they it burgh? Now, alas ! my hope is gone " He knew that he should die in burgh, but thought it would have been the burgh of Jerusalem Men said he had an evil spirit who answered his question He was a fool to trust that creature, for the fiends envy man, who shall regain the blissful seats they lost, and they delude with double meanings A story follows to show this. So Edward was deceived, and thought he should be buried in Jerusalem When he was near death at Burgh-on the-Sand, the prisoners from Kildrummie were brought to him. He said, grinning,

"Hang and draw" No mercy, yet so near to death ! How could he cry for mercy ? His men did as he commanded Soon thereafter he died, and was buried, and his son succeeded him

Now we go back to King Robert in Rathlin, where he lay until the winter was near gone Then James of Douglas, angry at so long delay, said to Sir Robert Boyd, "Our idleness is a great charge on the poor people here I hear say that in Arran there are English who hold lordship of the land in a strong castle Let us go thither" Sir Robert agreed , he knew the castle and the country well They went thither, hid their boat, and lay in ambush Sir John Hastings, with a great company of knights and squires and yeomanry, was in the castle The under warden just then landed from three boats more than thirty men, with a supply of victuals, clothes, and arms The men in ambush set upon them, killed nearly forty The men in the castle issued out to rescue Douglas rallied his men, and, returning to the shore, the men in the three boats put to sea again , but two were wrecked by a land breeze Douglas gathered arms and clothing, meat and wine, and went his way rejoicing to a narrow pass, which his men held manfully Ten days afterwards King Bruce, with thirty-three small galleys, landed in Arran, and asked if there were any strangers there "Yes," said a woman, "I will show them to you" She led the king to a woody glen, and said, "Sir, here I saw the men" The king blew his horn, bade all his men be still, and blew again Douglas said, "Soothly, yon is the king" The third time the king blew his blast Sir Robert knew it, and they came together The king sent a man, Cuthbert, to Carrick to spy the land, and light a beacon fire on Turnberry Nook if it was safe for the king to cross and land Cuthbert found few to speak well of the Bruce Sir Henry Percy, with three hundred men, held Carrick , and Cuthbert did not light the signal fire Bruce watched, and thought he saw a bright fire over Turnberry , his men thought the same The king talked with his hostess, who foretold much trouble , "but, know well," she said, "that from the time when now ye land, there shall no might nor strength of hand force you pass from this country, till all to you abandoned be" And in sign of her sure knowledge of this, she sent her two sons with him to share his toils Here Barbour pauses to discourse a little while upon the wonders of astrology It happened afterwards just as the woman said

[V] Spring was come, winter had passed with his hideous blasts, and small birds, as the throstle and the nightingale, began their merry song , trees budded, and bright blossoms opened, when the noble king put to sea in the evening from Arran with small following—three hundred, I trow When it was night they had no needle or stone, but

rowed towards the fire and landed near it Cuthbert, who also saw the fire, and feared that they would be misled, met them on shore, and told them that the Lord Percy, with three hundred men, was near by in the castle

> "Then said the kyng, in full gret ire,
> 'Tratour, quhy maid thou on the fyre?'
> 'A, schir,' he said, 'sa God me se!
> That fyre wes neuir maid on for me'"

They held council and determined to go forward, entered the town so quietly that none perceived their coming, then they avenged themselves by slaying all they found except Macdowell, who escaped by cunning in the darkness of the night Lord Percy in the castle heard the noise, but none durst issue forth The king dealt out the plunder to his men, and stayed three days in Carrick Friends came to him, a lady who was his cousin came to him with fifteen men, and told what had befallen at Kildrummie—how Seytoun was slain, and the queen prisoner in England Lord Percy escaped to England, where he had no more desire for war in Carrick

Douglas would look to his own country He parted from Bruce, entered Douglasdale one evening, and sent for Tom Dickson, a prosperous old servant of his father's Dickson brought friends together, who kept their secret till Palm Sunday, which would be in three days Then all the people of the country came to church, and the people of the castle would come also, bearing palms Douglas would be there with his two men, disguising himself as a thresher and carrying a flail. When his friends heard his war-cry they would set upon the English All the folk in the castle issued out to St Bride's Church except a cook and a porter James of Douglas sped to the church, but one of his men cried too soon "Douglas! Douglas!" Thomas Dickson and another rushed alone upon the English in the chancel, but were slain, then Douglas led attack upon the chancel, that was well defended, but taken at last, and the thirty English of the castle were all slain or taken Douglas sent five or six men before, who entered the castle quietly and seized the porter and the cook He followed with his prisoners, and found the boards set, the cloths laid, and dinner ready He and his men closed the gates, sat down, and ate at leisure Then they packed up weapons and armour, silver treasure and clothing, that they were able to carry off, and the provisions that they could not take he destroyed Wheat, flour, meal, and malt, he brought into the wine cellar Then he beheaded all the prisoners Then he struck out the heads of the wine barrels, and made foul mixture of meal, malt,

blood, and wine, whence the men of that country called it the Douglas's Larder Then he threw salt and dead horses into the well, burnt all that was in the castle to the stones, and left the place, for he could not, without support or victualling, with his few men have held out against siege

The Douglas scattered his men, and went about the land in hiding with one, two, or three men, and sometimes all alone The Clifford built his castle up again, victualled it, left one of the Thirlwalls in it as captain, and went back to England The king was still with a small following in Carrick, Sir Edward, his brother, was near by in Galloway Sir Aymer de Valence was at Edinburgh, he was Warden of the land When Sir Aymer heard of King Robert's landing in Carrick, and his slaying of the Percy's men, he assembled his Council, and, with their consent, sent Sir Ingraham Bell into Ayr with a great company Sir Ingraham heard in Carrick of a one eyed man, the sturdiest in that country, who was trusted by King Robert, and might go when he would into his presence He and his two sons agreed for forty pounds' worth of land to slay the Bruce Bruce heard of their treason, he was often warned by women The three lay in wait and met Bruce when he had only his sword with him, and was attended by a chamber page

> "Now bot God help the nobill king
> He is neir hand till his ending!"

They entered the covert where the three men lay Bruce saw them coming, and said to the page, "Yon men will slay us if they may What weapon hast thou?" "Ah, sir, perfay, I have only a bow and a bolt" "Give me them, quickly!" "Ah, sir, what will ye then that I do?" "Stand afar and look on" He took the bow, for the traitors were coming near The father had only a sword, the one son had a sword and battle axe, the other had a sword and spear The king saw by their ways he had been truly warned "Traitor," he said, "thou hast sold me! Come no nearer" "Ah, sir, bethink you how near to you I should be, who should come near to you but I?" "It is my will that you come not now near me What you would say, say from afar" But when the king saw that with false feigning they came on, he sped the bolt through the father's eye into his brain The brother who had the battle-axe lifted it over Bruce, who with his sword then cleft his head in two The other rushed on with his spear Bruce waited its coming, struck off its head with a stroke of his sword, and killed the third traitor before he had time to draw sword against

him The page thanked God Bruce said, "These would have been valiant men if they had not been full of treason"

[VI] Sir Ingram of Umfraville went back to Lothian and told this to Sir Aymer, who dreaded that King Robert's prowess and endurance would do more than had been thought Bruce, still wandering in Carrick with not sixty men, the rest separated in search of necessaries or to spy the country, was hunted by two hundred men of Galloway, who took with them a sleuth hound His watches told him of their coming He went down to a morass by running water, and found a narrow place in a bog two bow shots beyond the ford over the stream "Here," he said to his men, "you may rest a while, I will watch, and warn you if I should hear anything" He took two servants with him, and left Sir Gilbert de la Hay with his people He went quickly to the water, and listened and heard nothing Then he went a long way on the other side of the water and found no ford but that by which he crossed The way was so narrow that two men could not walk side by side He sent his servants back to their companions

> "Schir," said thai, "quha sall with yow be?"
> "God," he said, "forouten ma
> Pas on, for I will it be swa"

The king was alone He heard baying of a hound The moon shone, and as he stood listening he saw the whole rout at hand If he went to fetch his people the foe might pass the ford before he could return He would stay where he was He was armed, and they could only come on one by one. They, seeing him stand there alone, rode in a throng into the water, hurrying towards him The first who came he smote down with his spear, and his horse blocked the pass The king killed the horse, slew five men in the ford, the others flinched and then cried, "On him!" but the pass was soon stopped up with men and horses slain When before had one man stayed the passage of so many? Here Barbour tells the tale of Tydeus, who slew forty-nine by whom he was waylaid Tydeus fought fifty, Bruce two hundred

> "Now demys, quhethir mair lovyng
> Suld Tedeus haf, or the king"

The foes fled as the king's men came to the rescue, and found him alone They counted the dead and found fourteen, and said that with such a chief they need not dread their foes Valour, says Barbour here, is mean between foolhardiness and cowardice Bruce overcame because wit went with his boldness,

The king was in Carrick, Douglas, in Douglasdale Douglas went by night and set an ambush near the castle, and when Thirlwall and his men sallied out in the morning they were attacked and slain, Douglas carrying away all that was to be found about the castle Then James of Douglas went with his men to join the king, for they heard that Sir Aymer de Valence gathered a force in Cannock against Bruce. John of Lorne was with Sir Aymer He gathered eight hundred men and hunted the king with a sleuth hound that had belonged to him, and loved his old master so well that he would seek him above all things when he found his scent John of Lorne, for Sir John Comyn's sake, hated the king Bruce had three hundred men in Cannock, and his brother was with him, also James of Douglas They saw the army of Sir Aymer that kept the plain and rode always in battle array John of Lorne went round a hill that he might come near unseen and take Bruce by surprise The king divided his men into three companies who went different ways Then John of Lorne came to the place where they had separated, and set the hound on Bruce's track When the king saw him coming he caused his men again to separate into three, but the hound still followed the track of Bruce He bade his men divide again, each going his own separate way, and he himself went on with no companion but his foster-brother Still the hound, without wavering, followed the Bruce's track Then John of Lorne sent on five men to take the king He and his foster-brother resolved to wait for them, three attacked Bruce and two his man The five were killed

[VII] Bruce and his foster brother went into a wood near by, and went down to a valley where there was a stream, by wading along it for some way they broke the scent John of Lorne, when he came up, found his five men lying dead, and the hound, after long wavering to and fro, knew no way onward "We have lost our labour," said John of Lorne, "this wood is wide, and by this time he is far away" So they went back to the army Thus the king escaped, but some say it was not by wading, but by help of a good archer who was lurking in the wood, and seeing Bruce's danger, shot the hound Nothing came of the whole chase but that Sir Thomas Randolph captured the king's banner, and again Sir Aymer de Valence praised the king's prowess

Crossing a moor, Bruce and his foster-brother met three men who had swords and axes, and one of them had a bound wether on his neck They said they sought to be with the Bruce Then the king said, "Go with me, and I will show him to you" They knew him then by his behaviour, and they were his foes who thought to bide their time for killing him The king saw that they did not love him, and asked them

to walk first, he and his man would follow "There is no need," said they, "to suspect us" "I do not," he said, "but I will have you walk in front till we know one another better" They did so till they came to a deserted house, where they halted, killed the wether, and struck fire to roast their meat They asked the king if he would eat, and rest with them until the meat was ready The king said yes, but he and his fellow would be at one fire, and they should make themselves another in the house end They did so, and when the meat was ready, Bruce ate heartily. Then he had will to sleep, and said to his foster-brother, "May I trust you to wake me if I sleep a little?" He said, "Yea" The king then "winkit a little wee," but did not sleep heavily, for he distrusted the three men who were at the other fire The foster-brother fell asleep and snored The three men, seeing both asleep, drew swords and came towards them But the king, glancing up, saw his man asleep and the three traitors coming He leapt to his feet nimbly, drew his sword, and as he went forward, put his foot down heavily on his man, who awoke, and got up dazedly One of the three struck him dead as he was rising But the king slew the three traitors, and then mourned the death of his foster-brother

The king went to the trysting place he had appointed with his men The good wife of the house asked who he was "A wanderer" "I love all wanderers for the sake of one" "And who is he?"

> "Good King Robert the Bruce is he,
> That is rycht lord of this cuntré
> His fayis hym haldis now in thrang,
> But I thynk to se or oucht lang
> Hym lord and kyng our all the land,
> That na fayis sall hym withstand"

"Do you so love him?" "Yea" "Then I am he" "Where are your men? why are you then alone?" "I am alone now" "No, I have two sons, they shall become your men" So they were sworn Bruce sat and ate, and while he was at meat, stamping was heard without James Douglas and Edward Bruce were come, and the men with them were a hundred and fifty

Then they planned to surprise the enemy at daybreak, found a company of two thousand men a mile or more from the main army, fell on them in their sleep, and slew more than two thirds of them Sir Aymer again praised the hardihood of him whom they had thought to be a hunted, weary man, with no heart left in him Sir Aymer

withdrew to Carlisle. Bruce hunting with two hounds, met three archers who desired to kill him.

> "And said 'ȝhe aucht to shame, perdé
> Syn I am ane and ȝhe are thre,
> For to schut at me on fer.'"

They came on him with their swords. One of the hounds leapt at the neck of one of the traitors and dragged him down. Bruce, with the aid of a hound, slew two; the third fled, but the dog pursued him, caught him, and he, too, was killed. Then Bruce blew his horn, gathered his men, and hunted no more that day. He remained for some time seeking venison in Glendaruel. Sir Aymer sought to surprise him there, and sent a woman to him as a spy. Bruce suspected her, she confessed, and gave Bruce warning of his danger. He assembled his three hundred men, and when the English came, routed a force of fifteen hundred or more. Clifford and Vaux, quarrelling over the defeat, Clifford struck Vaux, but Sir Aymer parted them. Then he knew by the strife among themselves that he should not hold his followers together long, and afterwards went back to England.

[VIII.] For Bruce had also come down from the hills, made Kyle his own, and won to his allegiance most of the men of Cunningham. When Sir Aymer sent Philip de Mowbray with a thousand men to Kyle, James of Douglas caught them at the Edryford between two marshes by the way of Makyrnok, and with no more than sixty men routed them all. Sir Philip Mowbray charged through the Scots, one of whom seized him by the sword and held so tight that sword and belt were left in his hand as the Mowbray urged his horse on through the throng. He took refuge with the English, who were packed in Innerkip Castle. The rest fled back to Bothwell.

Then Sir Aymer de Valence challenged Bruce to fight in the plain, on the tenth of May, under Loudoun Hill. He would win more honour in fair fight than by skulking. Bruce accepted the challenge, inspected the ground, saw that the high road had a great broad moss on either side, and cut three deep dikes across the road from moss to moss, at distance of a bowshot or more one from another, with gaps in the dikes where five hundred could ride abreast. Then he collected his little army of six hundred fighting men, against which, on the appointed day, came three thousand English with their helmets glittering in the light of a bright sunrise. Bruce addressed his men, and waited for the English in the gap of the foremost dike. The trumpets sounded, and the fight began, in which the English were defeated. Some were dead and some were

tane, the remenand their gate are gane Sir Aymer after this returned to England Then Bruce went northward, leaving Douglas, who brought to the king's peace all the forest of Selkirk, Douglasdale, and Jedworth Men say that in all his time Douglas was vanquished in fight thirteen times, and fifty-seven times had victory When Bruce was gone he went again to Douglasdale, made fourteen of his men pass by the castle with sacks of grass on the backs of their horses as if they were countrymen going to Lanark fair When the captain of the castle, Sir John of Webtoun, sallied out with his men to seize the provender, the countrymen threw off the sacks of grass, leapt on their horses, and were fighting men of the Douglas, who killed Sir John and all his following In Sir John's pocket was a letter from the lady that he loved, promising well if he proved a good soldier for a year in the castle of the Douglas, "that to kepe so perelous was "* Douglas again ruined the Castle, and sent home to Clifford all his men who were found in it

[IX] The Frasers warned Bruce of danger from Sir John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who, with Sir John Mowbray and others, were banded to avenge the Sir John Comyn who had been slain at Dumfries But at Inverury Bruce fell sick, he could neither ride nor walk, and the strength of men is in their captain The Earl of Buchan and his friends advanced, faced Bruce's men, who neither fought nor fled, sent archers against archers, and when the number of the English became more and more, placed their king on a litter to depart with him Their foes seeing them calm and fearless wanted courage to attack, and let them go their way But in the winter, when the Earl of Buchan and Sir David Brechin advanced war again with boast, Bruce rose from bed before he was recovered "Their boast," he said, "has made me well Either I shall have them or they have me" So Bruce, with seven hundred men, attacked and defeated Buchan at Old Meldrum. The Earl and Sir John Mowbray fled to England Sir David Brechin fled to his own castle, and was besieged there by the Earl of Athol. Bruce wasted Buchan, won the land north of the Month, took Forfar Castle, surprised (for want of good watch) by Philip the Forester and a few men, who put ladders against the wall Bruce besieged Perth, and led the assault, fording the moat up to his neck in water, taking great booty and slaying none who could be taken without great strife. The towers of Perth were dismantled By all the north of Scotland, except the Lord of Lorne and the men of Argyle, Bruce was received as king His brother, Sir Edward, went to Cree,

* The "Castle Dangerous" of Scott's novel.

drove the defeated English into Bothwell Castle Sir Aymer de Valence went from England into Galloway, and Sir Edward the Bruce, with fifty men, after the morning mist had cleared away, charged into his force of fifteen hundred The English thought that surely there were more behind At the third charge they fled So a bold stroke

> "May ger oft-sis unlikly thingis
> Cum to richt fair and gud endingis"

The English were thirty to one, but Sir Edward, second only to his brother, won from them all Galloway Douglas in Selkirk took Sir Thomas Randolph prisoner, and Sir Alexander Stewart, who was wounded in the fight, made them good cheer, and presented them to Bruce, but Randolph refused to be reconciled, and was detained a prisoner [X] Bruce and the Douglas beset John of Lorne, who had stationed his men in a pass at Ben Cruachan, and saw from his ships how they were destroyed John of Lorne escaped, but his land was spoiled Dunstaffnage Castle was taken by Bruce, Sir Alexander of Argyle became the king's man By device of William Bunnock, a farmer, who had been engaged to carry hay into Linlithgow Castle, eight armed men were placed under the hay They, when the gate was opened, slew the porter and gave signal for the entry of Bruce's men, who had been placed ready in ambush Sir Thomas Randolph yielded to kind treatment, became the king's man, and was made Earl of Moray He was a loyal, brave, and pleasant knight, and went to besiege Edinburgh Castle, where the king of England had made Sir Piers Lumbard, a Gascon, governor; but the garrison mistrusted and imprisoned him, and put one of their own nation in his place Douglas attacked Roxburgh Castle craftily. Sim of the Ledows made strong rope ladders with iron hooks at the end. Douglas and sixty men, in the beginning of the night on Fastern Eve—Shrove Tuesday—put black frocks over their armour and went on their hands and feet to the castle, so that from the castle they seemed, in the dark, to be stray cattle, likely to make booty for the Douglas. Suddenly the ladders were hooked to the walls, and the assault began when men of the garrison were dancing and singing in the hall as they were used on Fastern Eve So Douglas took Roxburgh Castle by assault The king sent his brother, Sir Edward, who tumbled down tower, castle, and keep Then Barbour sings the manner of the taking of Edinburgh Castle by Thomas Randolph, the good Earl of Moray, who won greater honour from the king Sir Edward the Bruce having won Galloway and Nithsdale, besieged and took Dundee that had

been held against the king; then went to Stirling, where, after a siege from Lent till Midsummer, Sir Philip Mowbray promised to surrender if he was not rescued by battle within a year.

XI.] This being agreed, Sir Philip rode into England, and Sir Edward Bruce returned to tell his promise to his brother. Bruce said it was too long notice to give to so strong a king, who held England, Ireland, Wales, and Aquitaine, and a great part of Scotland, in his hand. We are few against many. God can shape well our fate, but we are set in jeopardy.

> "Schir Edward said, 'Sa God me reid
> Thouch he and all that he may leid
> Cum, we sall fecht, all war thai ma.'
> Quhen the king herd his brothir swa
> Spek to the battale so hardelý,
> He prysit hym in his hert gretlý,
> And said 'Brothir, sen swa is gane
> At this thing thus is vndirtane,
> Schap we vs tharfor manfully.'"

They prepared against the battle day. The King of England gathered men from France, the Earl of Hainault came, Gascons with Germans, Dutch and all the English chivalry. Men came from Wales, from Ireland, Poitou, Aquitaine, Bayonne,—when all were assembled the King of England had a hundred thousand fighting men or more. Forty thousand of them were horsemen, three thousand on horses armed in mail to front the battle. There were fifty thousand archers, with a great camp following of victuallers, with carts to carry armour, tents, and wine and wax, money, and food, and fuel. They covered much land, and in their helms and habergeons, with shields, and spears, and pennons, they seemed enough to conquer all the world. They came to Berwick, and the King of England thought that no king in the universe could stand against him. He dealt out the lands of the Scots among his people. He divided his army into ten hosts, each of ten thousand, appointed leaders, and gave leading of the vanguard to two famous Earls, they were of Gloucester and of Hereford. He chose his own division, with Sir Giles d'Argentine and Sir Aymer de Valence to ride on either side of him. Early he rose one morning and left Berwick; hills and vales were covered as the hosts rode forth. The sun shone on the newly burnished armour, and all the field was alight with its dazzle and the flame of banners and of pennons waving with the wind. So they came to Edinburgh.

King Robert called his men, who gathered to him at the Torwood Sir Edward, his brother, came with a great company, and Walter, Steward of Scotland, who was then only a beardless boy The Earl of Moray came and many another baron Of fighting men there were thirty thousand and more, well used to battle Bruce welcomed his men, spoke good words to them singly, then addressed them all, arranged them in four companies, the first under Earl Thomas Randolph, the second under Edward Bruce, the third under Walter Stewart and the Douglas who would care for his young cousin The fourth division King Robert himself would lead They would march to New Park, and fight on foot, for the English were better horsed, and if the Scots were on foot they could cumber the English horsemen in the park among the trees

On Saturday morning the Bruce heard that the English forces were at Edinburgh He held his way to the New Park, caused many pits of a foot breadth to be dug knee deep and close together like a honeycomb The pits were covered over with sticks and green grass On Sunday morning his men heard mass, and many were shriven who had determined to die in the fight or set their country free They prayed to God for their right None of them dined that day, they fasted upon bread and water, for it was the vigil of St John Bruce visited the pits that were to throw down the horsemen who passed over them, and caused it to be proclaimed

> "That quhat sa euir man that fand
> His hert nocht sekir for till stand
> To wyn all or de with honoúr,
> For to manteyne that stalward stour,
> That he be tyme suld take his way,
> And nane suld dwell with him bot thai
> That wald stand with him to the end,
> And take the ure* that God wald send"

All answered in one voice that none would fail

Bruce sent into the Park the twenty thousand poor camp followers with food and arms, and then arranged his thirty thousand for the battle James of Douglas and Sir Robert Keith, sent out to reconnoitre, brought back private report of the multitude and beauty of the force they had seen coming against them Bruce bade them not discourage his people by telling them what they had found With his

* *Ure*, fortune, lot Old French *eure* and *hore*

own brave cheer he strengthened his men, till the most cowardly were bold

The English, on the other side, came on with their battalions and waving banners, and detached a picked company of eight hundred young men under three bannerets, led by Lord Clifford, who made for Stirling Castle, they avoided the Earl Thomas who was to defend that way, wherefore Bruce told him that a rose was fallen from his chaplet

But Earl Thomas charged on them with his men The English, when they saw him take the plain, spurred on to meet him "Stand back to back," he cried to his men, "and point your spears all outward Though they surround us, we will fight them as we may "

The first who pitched on them was Sir William Dancourt, who was met so sturdily that both he and his horse were slain The rest came more slowly, gathered round the little band of Scottish knights, and cast at them spears, darts, and knives Some of the Scots shot forward from their rank to bear down horse and man The English threw at them their swords and maces The air was thick with the dust of the fight When Douglas saw that the Earl Thomas had taken the field, he asked leave to go out and help him thus environed by his foes, but Bruce answered "Not a foot If he do well, his is the issue " Douglas urged again, and Bruce allowed his plan of battle to be broken "Go, then, and speed thee soon again " [XII] Douglas sped forward, and the King of England, just then halting his main army, sent his vanguard on King Robert arranged his men, riding among them on a small grey palfrey, axe in hand, with a hat of hard leather, and a high crown on it in token he was king Sir Henry de Bohun knew the Bruce by his crown, rode at him, and, seeing him so ill horsed, thought to bear him down He missed the king, who stood up in his stirrups, and with one blow of his axe cleft his head, but broke in two the handle of the axe That was the first doughty stroke in the battle When the king's men saw him slay a knight so at a stroke, they took fresh courage and pressed hard on the retreating English When Bruce gathered his men again, his lords said he had risked himself and all the battle, but he answered only with regret for the loss of his battle axe Douglas meanwhile hurrying to the help of Randolph saw the English waver, and halted "They are winning honour," he said, "by hard open fighting It were a sin that they should lose their praise " So Randolph Earl of Moray beat the English off, and when his men, covered with sweat, took off their basnets for cool air, they found only one yeoman slain of all their company The king praised them when they came back All ran to see the Earl Moray, and King Robert

told his men that they should love God for their fair beginning The main army of the English will be much disheartened when they hear how suddenly their vanguard was struck back Shall we fight on? If you will, I will If not, I shall do as you determine

> "'Tharfor sais on ȝour will planly!'
> Than with ane voce all can thai cry—
> 'Gud king, forouten mair delay,
> To morn, als soyn as ȝe se day,
> Ordane ȝow haill for the battale,
> For dout of ded* we sall nocht fale;
> Nor nane payn sall refusit be
> Till we haue maid our cuntre fre"

When John Barbour has thus made Bannockburn not the battle of the King but of the People, his poem tells the brave words spoken by Bruce to his army, who might have lived in thraldom if they would, but because they yearned for freedom were assembled there with him Let none take spoil to-morrow till the field is won, and, to be ready, be in arms to-night

The disheartened English who had heard what happened in their front, had heralds sent to assure them that they could not fail next day The English rested that night in the Carse of Stirling, where they bridged the pools with timber and thatch of houses that they broke, and doors and windows brought them from the castle

> "The Scottis men, quhen it wes day,
> Their mass deuotly herd thai say,
> Syne tok a sop and maid them ȝar" †

King Robert knighted Walter Stewart and James Douglas Both armies gathered The English shone like angels, but, unlike angels, were pressed for room When the King of England saw the Scots taking the field on foot, he despised them Sir Ingram Umfraville said, "Forsooth, sir, we have only to withdraw behind our tents, and ye shall see them break ranks and rush in to plunder the tents, where we shall take them easily" The king answered he would not let it be said that he withdrew from such a rabble

> "Quhen this was said that er said I,
> The Scottis men full deuotly

* *Dout of ded*, fear of death † *ȝar*, yare, ready

Knelyt all doune till* God to pray,
And a schort prayer thair maid thai
Till God, till help thame in that ficht
And quhen the Ynglis king had sicht
Of thame kneland, he said in hy—
'ȝon folk knelis till ask mercy'
Sir Ingeiame said, 'ȝe say suth now,
Thai ask mercy, but nocht at ȝow"

The Earl of Moray and his men gained ground They had English axes in their faces, the grass grew all red with the blood [XIII] Then the poem tells incidents of the battle—

"A long quhill thus fechtand thai wer,
That men no noyis na cry mycht her,
Men herd nocht ellis bot granys† and dyntis
That slew‡ fire as men dois on flyntis,
So foucht thai ilkane egnly
That thai maid nouther noyis na cry,
But dang on othir at thar mycht"

King Robert sent Sir Robert Keith his marshal, with five hundred horsemen, to charge upon the English archers When these were dispersed, the Scots became yet bolder, though the flight of the archers left room for the English rearguard to advance The English vanguard was forced back, the English ranks were breaking Then the camp followers left in the park, who had fastened sheets to boughs as banners and came out to see how the fight went, shouting as they came, looked like another army to the English, and the King of England when he saw his men flee, fled with five hundred men at arms to Stirling Castle But Sir Giles de Argentine disdained to quit the field Alone, he pricked, crying "Argente!" against Sir Edward Bruce's spears, was overthrown and slain

"He was the third best knight, perfay,
That men wist liffand in his day"

After Sir Aymer and the king had fled, all fled aghast, many fled to the water of Forth, where most of them were drowned

* *Till*, Scottish for *to* † *Granys*, groans ‡ *Slew*, struck.

> "And BANNOKBURN, betwix the braes,
> Of hors and men sa chargit was,
> That upon drownit hors and men
> Men mycht pas dry atour it then."

In this battle, says Barbour, thirty thousand English were slain, seven hundred pairs of spurs were taken in spoil of the battle-field On the side of the Scots two knights were lost, Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross The King of England, who came so proudly out of his land, was glad to escape homeward with seventeen in a boat As the wheel of Fortune turned, when Edward was down Bruce rose

The rest of Barbour's poem, which is about a third part of the whole, continues Bruce's story till his death It tells how Bruce's wife and daughter were restored, how his daughter Margery was married to Walter Stewart, and how their son Robert was king when Barbour wrote his poem It tells [XIV , XV , XVI] of Sir Edward Bruce's wars in Ireland It tells [XVII] of the capture and defence of Berwick by the Scots in 1319 It tells [XVIII] of more fighting in Ireland, and of another defeat of Edward II in Scotland , [XIX] how De Soulis conspired against King Robert , how truce with England was made and broken , how Edward III became King of England, and the Douglas met the English in Weardale It tells [XX] how Bruce harried Northumberland, how Edward III made peace with him, how Bruce's son David was married to King Edward's sister Joan , how King Robert the Bruce fell sick at Cardross, and David and Jean were crowned King and Queen How the Bruce died, and how his heart was taken, as he desired, by Douglas to the Holy Land , with some knightly adventures of James Douglas there against the Saracens, by whom he was slain His bones were brought home for burial, and Bruce's heart, which the Earl of Moray buried with great honour in the Abbey of Melrose *

* The better of the two MSS of Barbour's "Bruce" is G 23, in the library of St John's College, Cambridge It is imperfect at the beginning A note at the end says that its copying was finished on the 28th of August, 1487, by J de R [John Ramsay], chaplain The other MS is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh It was transcribed also, but more hurriedly, by John Ramsay, who began with Blind Harry's "Wallace," copied in 1488, and went on to "The Bruce," copied in 1489 for Simon Lochmalony, vicar of Moonsie Head, about two miles from Cupar, Fife The printed edition of 1616 was from another MS , now lost, which contained lines missing from the other

Barbour's "Bruce" is the romance of history Romance is chronicle with fancy for the framer or the fitter of the facts Barbour uses the eight-syllabled romance measure, and fits his facts to a romantic tale His Bruce is the hero of a people subdued

Spirit of *The Bruce*

two The first printed edition was a small quarto in black letter, produced at Edinburgh in 1570 or 1571, at the expense of Henrie Charteris Only one copy of this is known, and that is imperfect Only two copies are known to remain of the next edition, printed at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart, in 1616 One of these copies is in the Bodleian Hart printed another edition in 1620, which modernised some of the words, and there were reprints in 1648 and 1665 In 1670 there was an Edinburgh edition by Andrew Anderson, founded on Hart's In 1672 there was an edition in 18mo printed at Glasgow by Robert Saunders In 1715 there was a black letter edition at Edinburgh by Robert Freebairn, with words much modernised In 1737 there was an edition printed at Glasgow by Carmichael and Millar In 1790 there was an edition published at London by John Pinkerton, with notes and a glossary, in three elegant volumes, foolscap 8vo, and this had the text freshly edited from John Ramsay's second MS It was Pinkerton who first divided the poem into twenty books In 1820 Dr John Jamieson, author of the Scottish Dictionary, published "The Bruce" from the same MS that Pinkerton had used, but with a new division into fourteen books, and joined to it, in a companion volume, Blind Harry's "Wallace" These were reprinted at Glasgow in 1869 In 1866 "The Brus' was edited, for the first time, from both its MSS, for the Spalding Club, by Cosmo Innes The last edition is that by the Rev Professor W W Skeat, issued by the Early English Text Society in four parts from 1870 to 1889 This edition is so exhaustive, and so accurate, that it leaves the student nothing to desire It is another witness to the patient energy of our best worker at Early English, who has also steadily employed his scholarship on what is best in our old Literature This edition is entitled "The Bruce, or, the Book of the most excellent and noble prince Robert de Broyss, King of Scots compiled by Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, A D 1375 Edited from MS G 23 in the Library of St John s College, Cambridge, written A D 1487, collated with the MS in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, written A D 1489, and with Hart's Edition, printed A D 1616, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossarial Index by the Rev Walter W Skeat, Litt D, LL.D Edin, M A Oxon, Elrington

by a strong oppressor, who contends for liberty against all odds, is hunted to the mountains, tracked by hounds, beset by guile and force, but who battles, heart and mind, with an indomitable will, until at last he masters fortune, and becomes free king of a free people by his victory at Bannockburn To this point there is a oneness of design that shapes the chronicle into a poem The adventures of the Douglas, who makes his lost home in Douglasdale a Castle Dangerous for any English who are put in it, form episodes in perfect accord with the main design Barbour even, when he has swiftly told the grounds of the contest, appears willing to absorb into the person of his hero the preceding causes of the struggle, by speaking of his grandfather, Robert Bruce, the competitor, who died in 1295, and his father, Robert Earl of Carrick, who died in 1304, as "this lord the Bruce I spake of ere" With quick following of adventure on adventure, brisk little passages of dialogue, touches of wise comment that never overload the tale, and now and then a bit of older story by the way—like that of Tydeus—to give force, dignity, and credibility to what is told of Bruce, Barbour gave Bruce to his country as a hero of romantic song As of old time, the wandering story-tellers would recite now this now that adventure, or gather all their force for the presentment of the fight at Bannockburn, where all men were so terribly in earnest, so intent upon their work, that there were no battle-shouts, but the poet grandly suggests silence in a battle, broken only by the sounds of blows, and groans and cries of the dying In one part of "The Bruce" as we have it, Sir Aymer de Valence, whose frequent praise of the valour of his enemy has obvious value in the record, is several times represented as going back defeated to England, but immediately

and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Christ's College" London Published by the Early English Text Society, 1870, 1889

afterwards found to be still fighting in Scotland That was a result, probably, of the recitation of detached parts of the poem, each helped by a suggestion that Sir Aymer gave up the game The frauds and massacres that were a part of mediæval war are not smoothed over, but the best spirit of chivalry—the honour that it did cherish, in its respect for women and in its devotion to God—is in no poem of those times more clearly shown The pride of human strength in the English battalions, that shone like angels in the morning sun, the simple, unhorsed Scots at Bannockburn, who knelt in prayer, the great and little loss of knights on either side, suggest strongly a resemblance in the spirit between Barbour's Bannockburn and Shakespeare's Agincourt

But after Bannockburn, with war in Ireland, the motive of the poem so far changes that its unity is lost Bruce has achieved the freedom of his country He no longer is a great example of the truth of Beowulf's saying, that the Must Be often helps an undoomed man when he is brave * There is the same freshness of romantic narrative that carries on the story of the nation's hero to his death, but, in finishing the lives of Bruce and his brother Edward, of James Douglas, and of their last survivor, Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray (of whom he says in a few lines that he was poisoned), Barbour gave to his countrymen a delightful Chronicle of the Bruce Welcome in every part, it passed from poem into chronicle, because the unity of a poem does not depend on its relating to one person only, but upon the oneness and completeness of the action that it shows Barbour, I think, understood this well, for he closed his poem in the right place, when he connected his Bruce with the King of Scotland who reigned

"in tyme of the compyling
Of this buk"

* "E W" i 285

> "God grant that thai that cummyne are
> Of his ofspring, maynteyne the land
> And hold the folk weill be warrand,
> And maynteyne richt and ek lauté
> As weill as in his tyme did he"

That is the real close to the poem The rest might be taken as a sequel, chronicling with not less vigour the reign of the Bruce as an established king The second part would therefore begin with the lines—

> "Kyng Robert now wes weill at hycht,
> For ilk day than grew mair his mycht
> His men war rich, and his cuntré
> Aboundanit weill of corne and fee,
> And of alkynd othir richés
> Myrth solas and ek blithnes
> Wes in the land all comonly,
> For ilk man blith wes and joly"

In the metrical chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun, presently to be described, Barbour's "Bruce" is much quoted, and there are references also to a "Brut" which is in one passage said to be Barbour's

Lost works of John Barbour

> "Bot, be the Brwte, yit Barbare says
> Of Yrischry all othir-wayes
> That Gurgwnt Badiuk quhille wes kyng," &c

If Barbour, like Layamon, sought to make that mythical chronicle of the origin of the nation current among his countrymen, the work is lost No MS of a northern "Brut" has yet been found If Barbour wrote the "Brut" to which Wyntoun refers, it followed his "Bruce," for in lines 554–5 of "The Bruce" a slip is made in quoting from the "Brut," which was corrected in the "Brut" that Wyntoun quoted

There are also three references by Andrew of Wyntoun to a poem by Barbour on the Original of the Stuarts It

is called "Proper Genealogy, by Barbere, to the time of King Robert the Second" And in another passage we are told of it

> "The Stewartis Originalle
> The Archedekyne has tretyd hale
> In metyre fayre"

This poem is lost, but the references to it show that Barbour gave the Stuarts their fabulous national ancestry through Fleance, the son of Banquo, who had a son Walter made Steward of Scotland, who was father of an Alan, who was father of an Alexander, who was father of another Walter, who was father of another Alexander, and was father of a John, who was father of a third Walter, who married Robert Bruce's daughter Marjory, and was the father of King Robert II Professor Skeat shrewdly suggests that Barbour's life-pension of ten pounds may have been given for this Genealogy

Extant works ascribed to him

Saints' legends were the metrical romances that the Church provided for the people, and it is reasonable to think that such tales may have been written by a poet who was also an archdeacon But if Barbour wrote any, they are lost, nor is there any mention of them by men living in his time In a single MS in the Cambridge University Library, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, with gaps filled and the last piece added by a second hand, there is preserved a Scottish Legendarium in eight-syllabled rhyme The late Henry Bradshaw, University librarian, suggested in 1866 that Barbour was its author * Whoever the author was, he speaks of himself as one who

> "ma nocht wirk
> As mynistere of haly kirke
> Fore gret eld and fabilnes"

* "On two hitherto unknown poems by John Barbour, author of

Yet to eschew idleness, the nurse of vice, he has already told some part of what he found in the story of Mary and her son Jesus, from which he goes on to the lives of the Apostles and the Saints Dr Carl Horstmann, who is endeavouring to bring all old English saints' legends out of MS into print, and whose edition of the Southern Legendarium has been already cited,* has accepted the opinion that Barbour wrote this collection of Saints' Legends in Scottish dialect, and has printed it as his † No doubt, there is among the saints in this collection Macharius, who was the patron saint of Aberdeen, as well as St Ninian of Galloway, but the author of the Scottish Legendarium has yet to be found Barbour was a man of fresh, vigorous mind, with phrase and diction of his own, and now that the legends, thanks to Dr Horstmann, lie no longer hidden in one ill-penned and difficult MS, but are easily accessible in print —and they are not dull or ill-written, though transcribed corruptly—it is made almost impossible for anyone to pass to them from a reading of "The Bruce" and be firm in the belief that they are works of the same author Dr P Buss, of Leipzig, has made minute comparison of differences in the rhyming ‡ which point to differences of authorship, though bad copying and lateness of the text of the one MS of the Legendary leave only a little safe ground for this kind of argument Professor Skeat, in his masterly

'The Brus' Communicated by Henry Bradshaw" Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1866

* "E W" iv 141, 142

† "Barbour's des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legenden Sammlung, nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojaner Krieges Zum ersten mal herausgegeben und kritisch bearbeitet von C Horstmann Bd I, II Heilbronn, 1881, 1882

‡ "Sind die von Horstmann herausgegebenen Schottischen Legenden ein Werk Barberc's?" *Anglia*, vol ix, 1886, pp 493—514

edition of "The Bruce," holds it impossible that Barbour should be author of the Legends

Of fragments of a "Troy Book" that John Barbour is also supposed to have written, note will be taken when we speak of Lydgate Let it suffice to know that Barbour wrote "The Bruce"

CHAPTER II

JOHN OF FORDOUN—ANDREW OF WYNTOUN

JOHN OF FORDOUN was John Barbour's contemporary, dying perhaps about ten years before him, and he also was attached to the cathedral of Aberdeen, where he was probably a chantry priest. The Prologue to the Chronicle he founded calls him "Dominus Joannes Fordoun, presbyter," and in one MS of the "Scotichronicon" he is called "capellanus ecclesiæ Aberdonensis" The preface to another MS tells that after Edward Longshanks had carried away or burnt the national records of Scotland, a certain venerable priest, John Fordoun, sought to repair the loss, and wandered with his writing in his breast over Britain and Ireland, over cities and towns, over universities and colleges, over churches and monasteries, conversing with historians, tarrying with chronographers His continuer, Walter Bower, represents one saying that he knew John of Fordoun, who was a simple man and not a graduate of any schools Fordoun is in Kincardineshire, about ten miles from Stonehaven At Aberdeen John Barbour must have known him His annals end in 1385, and probably he died soon afterwards

John of Fordoun

The passage from short chronicles and lists of kings was made in Scottish history by John of Fordoun To the early fables he accepted, he gave an air of historical succession in course of time, and as he came near to his own time, he laid foundations for the

The Scotichronicon

history of Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and within his own time in the fourteenth The Fifth Book of the "Scotichronicon" ends with the death of David I in 1153, and to this point Fordoun was the author He began with the sensible world, the four quarters of the heavens, the head of the sensible world in Paradise, the three unequal parts of the world, and the three sons of Noah who came to possess them, the position of some regions in Asia and Africa, the position of some regions in Europe, as Scythia, Greece, and the city of Rome, then of the greater islands of Europe, Albion and Hibernia So he drew out of space his starting point, and after a chapter of chronology, began to tell of the first origin of the Scots and of their king Gadelus, and those who succeeded him down to the time when Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea The end of the First Book brings the Scots to Albion, of which they were the first to occupy the north, and to their first king in Albion Some Latin verses added by John of Fordoun to his list of five-and-thirty chapters in Book I sets forth his name spelt by the initials of the words that form the first three lines *

Fordoun's Second Book begins with establishing from Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury that Scotland was from the beginning independent of Britain Then it traces history from the "Brut," reaches the time of the birth of Christ in chapter xxi, quoting Bede by the way, it includes also the story of the bringing to Scotland

* "Incipies Opus Hoc Adonai Nomine Nostri
Exceptum Scriptis Dirigat Emanuel
Fauces Ornate Ructent Dum Verbula Nectant.

"Compilatoris nomen superis elementis
Construe, quem, Lector, precor ora scandere cœlum,
Atque Pater Noster confer amore Dei

Amen"

of part of the relics of St Andrew the Apostle, and ends with the recovery of independence by the Scots after the death of the tyrant Maximus The Third Book brings the history down to the time of Charlemagne, of whom a chapter tells how he was led by two Scottish monks to found the University of Paris The Fourth Book advances the record to the reign of Macbeth, its last two chapters telling of Macbeth's banishment to England of the two sons of Duncan, Malcolm and Donald, and of the proscription of Macduff the Thane of Fife, for the friendship that he had towards the said sons of Duncan The Fifth Book begins with Macduff's persuasion of Malcolm to return to Scotland, and Malcolm's trial of his sincerity by asserting of himself that he was luxurious, rapacious, and deceitful, to the last only of which three temptations Macduff could give no answer of continued hope The Fifth Book ends with a full dwelling on the life and death of King David the First

For the history after David's death, in 1153, John of Fordoun is said to have made large collections, which he had begun to arrange, but as his own end drew near, he gave them to Walter Bower, or Bowmaker, Abbot of the Monastery of Inchcolm, on a little island in the Forth From Fordoun's materials, and chronicles and papers given to him by his patron, Sir David Stewart, and from his own research, Walter Bower added eleven books to Fordoun's five, and made, in sixteen books, the "Scotichronicon," as we now have it, with its history—still Latin prose—brought down to the murder of James I in 1436

Walter Bower

Fordoun's "Gesta Annalia," added to his Chronicle, begin at the time when Stephen was King of England, include records of Wallace and of Bruce, and end at the year 1385

A few references to himself in the "Scotichronicon," and references to him by abridgers of it, tell us what is

known of Walter Bower He says* that he was born in the year when Richard II burnt Dryburgh and Edinburgh —that was the year 1385—about the time when John of Fordoun is thought to have died He was born at Haddington,† where a John Bower, who may have been his father, was deputy-custumar from 1395 to 1398 Walter Bower may have entered early in life the Augustinian priory of St Andrew's, where he was taught by James Biset, one of the founders of St Andrew's University On the 17th of April, 1418,‡ Walter Bower was consecrated Abbot of Inchcolm In 1423–4 he was one of the two commissioners appointed to collect the ransom for James I on his return from England From December, 1430, to February, 1432, the Countess of Ross was held at Inchcolm as hostage for the submission of her son, Alexander of the Isles In October, 1432, Abbot Walter Bower joined the Abbot of Scone in opposing, at a council held in Perth, the English propositions of peace, which time afterwards proved to have been delusive It was not until 1440 that, at the request of his friend, Sir David Stewart of Rossyth, who died in 1444, Bower began his continuation of Fordoun's "Chronica Gentis Scotorum," using Fordoun's material,—chapters 9 to 23 of the sixth book are mainly by Fordoun,—adding eleven books to Fordoun's five, and so producing the sixteen books of the "Scotichronicon" These being finished, Bower wrote also an abridgment of them, divided into forty books It is not yet printed Its MS is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and is known as the "Book of Cupar," because it is inscribed at the beginning as "Liber Monasterii beatæ Mariæ de Cupro" Bower died in the year 1449

Andrew of Wyntoun was a Scottish chronicler who sought,

* "Scotichronicon," bk xiv, ch 50 † "Book of Cupar"
‡ "Scotichronicon," bk xv, ch 30

like Barbour, to spread knowledge of the history of Scotland among the people, by the reading or the recitation of it in their own tongue, in eight-syllabled romance measure

Andrew of Wyntoun

His family is not known He was born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and became a canon regular of the priory of St Andrew's The Prior of St Andrew's took precedence of all other priors and all abbots in Scotland, and there were under his immediate rule five smaller monasteries, of which one was that of St Serf's Inch, in Lochleven In 1395 Canon Andrew of Wyntoun had been appointed Prior of St Serf's, which was a very ancient house, and well endowed It was at the request of his friend, Sir John of the Wemyss, that Andrew of Wyntoun began to rhyme "The Orygınale Cronykil of Scotland," which he finished at some time between the date of the death of the Duke of Albany, on the 3rd of September, 1420, and the return of King James I from England, in April, 1424 In the Prologue to his Ninth Book, Prior Andrew speaks of his life as drawing to its close through age and sickness

"For as I stabil myne intent
Offt I fynde impediment
With sudanę and fers malidis
That me cumbris mony wis,
And elde me mastreis wyth his brevis,
Ilkć day me sare aggrevis
Scho has me maid monitioune
To se for a conclusioune,
The quhill behovis to be of det
Quhat term of tyme of that be set,
I can wyt it be na way,
Bot weil I wate, on schorte delay
At a court I mon appeire
Fell accusationis there til here
Quhare na help thare is, bot grace"

We do not know when he died, but he lived long enough to re-write a passage in the first draft of his poem, when he had made more clear to himself the difficult chronology of King Fergus and his successors

Wyntoun says that he called his chronicle "original" because he designed to trace things from their origin, and he wrote it in nine books in honour of the nine orders of angels The books and chapters are of unequal length, the length depending, as it should, on the coherence of the matter in each subdivision The work, after a prologue, has for the first chapter a rhymed summary, in thirty-eight lines, of the contents of all the books, and every chapter is headed with a couplet that sets forth its subject Thus the short chapter that begins the record is headed with the promise

Wyntoun's Chronicle

> "Off Angellis now sall ye heir
> In this followand next Cheptere"

Then follow Adam and Eve, Cain, Seth, and their generations, the giants, with a glance on to Corineus and Gogmagog, of whom the "Brut" has record, Noah's Ark, and the division of the land among Noah's sons, Paradise, India, with note of the wonders of India from the romance of Alexander We are told of Nineveh and Babylon, of Judea and Canaan, of Nazareth, when Gabriel said, "Hail to the maiden full of grace and blessed among women," then we are told of Egypt, Africa, how Europe lies with other portions of the world, how Britain and Ireland lie in Europe, and of the division of languages Next follow the poetic feignings of the Greek mythology, the rise of idolatry, and a genealogy that shows how the Second Age of the world ended in Abraham.

The Second Book of Wyntoun's "Orygynal Cronikyl" continues to trace Origins, with use of Orosius among other authorities It begins with Ninus and Semiramis, proceeds

to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the first finding of the maiden Minerva by a loch in Africa, she was known afterwards as Pallas—it was she who taught women to work, and chiefly to spin and weave, tells briefly of the first peopling of Rhodes, then at length of the wit and foresight of Joseph, of Deucalion's Flood, of Israel's coming out of Egypt, then "off the Scottis Orygynale," about that time Sir Newylle came out of Scythia into Greece, where he won great lordship, he was descended in direct line by twenty degrees from Japhet, son of Noah From this Japhet knighthood came, but priesthood came from Shem Newylle had a son called Gedyelle-Glays (Gadelas, eponym for the Gaedhels) who wedded Scota, the young daughter of Pharaoh One of their children would have succeeded to the throne of Pharaoh but after the drowning of Egyptian hosts in the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed unhurt, the barons who survived in Egypt expelled aliens Gedeil Gleys then went across the Mediterranean sea to Spain, and begged the town of Brygancy, where is now Galys, on the water of Hibery Afterwards he knew of a great country beyond a sea, and sent armed men in three ships to see how it lay They found a great island inhabited by people "Wnhonest and inutyle," who killed some of the explorers, the rest returned with their report, and said that the land was easy to conquer Gedeyl-Glays died just then, but his son Heber, tempted by the good report made of the island, sailed thither, slew all who would not pay him homage, and called the land Scotland, in honour of his mother Wyntoun goes on to tell the different way of the first coming of the Irish, and quotes Barbour's "Brut" as one authority

> "Bot be the Brwte, yhit Barbare sayis,
> Off Yrischry all othir wayis"

Then after a genealogy we go to Danaus and his brother

Egistus in Egypt, and Tereus and Philomene, and Perseus and Dardanus, followed by Joshua, the Minotaur, the Amazons, and, for the end of the Second Book, the Siege of Troy

The Third Book of the "Original Chronicle" begins with a prologue which brings evidence from the book of Deuteronomy that men should be busy

> "Their statis to kene Orygynalle
> And thame to trete memoryalle"

"Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations, ask thy father, and he will show thee, thy elders and they will tell thee"*

> "*Memento dierum*, that leve yow nocht
> *Antiquorum*, bot drawe to thocht
> Ilké generatyowne,
> And in thare successiowne
> Ask at thi fadyre, quhat at fell,
> And at thine eldrys, quhat thai can telle"

The Third Book has but ten chapters They treat of the Judges of Israel, of Samson and his strength, of when Brutus came into Britain, of Sardanapalus,

> —"Heyr the Thryd Elde now tayis ende,"—

of a Roman chronology compared with the chronology of kings of Judah, of the Persian Empire, the tyrant Phalaris in Sicily, of the establishment of the Olympian games, of the first sending by a mighty king in Spain of his son Symon-Brek, with the Great Stone made for a royal seat, and held for a great jewel of the kingdom, into Ireland Symon-Brek conquered Ireland and set up the king's stone in a city there. Fergus Eveson, descended from Symon-Brek in the fiftieth degree, brought that stone with him to Scotland

* Deut xxxii. 7

when he won the land, and it was set up first at Ycolmkil, and afterwards at Scone. Edward of England, about the year 1310, took it to London but what says the proverb? Where that stone is set up the Scots shall rule *

Wyntoun's Third Book then ends with a chapter on the generations that connected Symon-Brek with Fergus More

The Fourth Book proceeds, in twenty-six chapters, from Romulus and Remus, through the wars of Rome with Hannibal and the destruction and rebuilding of Carthage, to Julius and Augustus Cæsar and the Birth of Christ, taking the destruction of Babylon, Cyrus, Darius, the first rising of Alexander the Great, and the first coming of Picts from Scythia into Scotland, by the way

The Fifth Book gives Church history from the birth of Christ, with the conversion of Britain and deeds of Emperors and Popes to the time of Gregory the Great, especially dwelling by the way upon the Church story of Sylvester and Constantine In the twelfth chapter of this book, when Wyntoun is speaking of King Arthur, there is a passage in defence and praise of a poet of the Scottish Court, Huchowne, to which we shall have to return in a later chapter The Prior of St Serf's on the Inch of Lochlevin does not forget his patron saint, first Bishop in Orkney, the tutor of Saint Mungo who became Bishop of Glasgow He tells how a thief stole the saint's ram, cut it up and ate it, and how, when he denied his theft to the saint's face, the ram miraculously bleated in his belly He tells also how the devil came to St Serf in his bed to try conclusions with him in theology, what questions he asked, and how he was so well confuted that he never again set hoof in that monastery

The Sixth Book of Wyntoun's Chronicle begins with wars between the Picts and Scots and ends with Macbeth

* "Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem "

and Edward the Confessor In the eighteenth chapter of this book we have the temptation of Macbeth by the three witches, told as a dream

> "A nycht he thowcht in hys dremyng,
> That syttand he wes besyd the kyng
> At a sete in hwntyng, swa
> In til his leisch had grewhundys twa
> He thowcht, quhile he wes swa syttand,
> He sawe thre wemen by gangand,
> And thai wemen than thowcht he
> Thre werd systrys mast lyk to be
> The first he hard say, gangand by,
> 'Lo, yhondyr the thane of Crumbawchty'
> The tothir woman sayd agayne,
> 'Of Morave yhondyre I se the thane'
> The thryd then sayd, 'I see the kyng'
> All this he herd in his dremyng
> Sone eftyre that, in his yhowthad,
> Of thyr thanydoms he thane wes made,
> Syné neyst he thowcht to be kyng,
> Fra Dunkanys dayis had tane endyng
> The fantasy thus of hys dreme
> Movyd hym mast to sla hys eme,
> As he dyd all furth in-dede,
> As before yhe herd me rede,
> And Dame Grwok, his emys wyf,
> Tuk, and led wyth hyr hys lyf"

But after the murder of Duncan, Macbeth was for seventeen years a good king, attentive to the Church, and

> "All hys tyme was great plenté
> Abowndand, both on land and se"

Malcolm's trial of Macduff's sincerity in calling him to war against Macbeth by declaring himself to be luxurious,

Eme, uncle.

covetous, and false, is also told in Wyntoun's rhyming, and the faith in deluding prophecies In the last contest

> " he trowyd stedfastly
> Nevyre discumfyt for to be
> Quhill wyth his eyné he suld se
> The wodé brocht off Brynnane
> To the hill of Dwnsynane "

And when, in the defeat of Macbeth, Macduff was most cruel in chase, not on Macduff but on another knight—

> " that in that chas
> Till this Makbeth than nerest was,
> Makbeth turnyd hym agayne,
> And sayd, 'Lurdane, thow prykys in vayne,
> For thow may not be he, I trowe,
> That to dede sall sla me nowe
> That man is nowcht borne off wyff
> Of power to revé me my lyff'
> The krycht sayd, 'I wes nevyr borne,
> But off my modyre wame was schorne,
> Now sall thi tresowne here tak end,
> For to thi fadyre I sall thé send'"

Wyntoun's Seventh Book, then, with interwoven chapters upon William the Bastard's coming into England and on William Rufus, carries the history of Scotland from the crowning of Malcolm to the death of Alexander III in the year 1285, upon whose loss, says Andrew of Wyntoun, this song was made —

> " Quhen Alysandyr oure kyng was dede,
> That Scotland led in luve and lé
> Away wes sons off ale and brede,
> Off wyne and wax, of gamyn and glé
>
> Oure gold wes changéd into lede
> Cryst, borne into vyrgynyté
> Succoúré Scotland and remede
> That standis in perplexyté '

The Eighth Book carries on the tale of Scotland from the year 1286 to the death of David II in 1370 Beginning with the competition for the crown, it includes the story of the Bruce, and makes so much good use of Barbour that two chapters, the second and eighteenth, repeat nearly three hundred lines out of his "Bruce" Prior Andrew's Ninth Book chronicles the reigns of the next two kings, ending with the death of Robert III in 1406, and has an appended chapter on the deeds of the Earl of Mar

CHAPTER III

ROMANCES

AGAIN we spread our sails upon the broad stream of Romance to trace it onward from the middle of the fourteenth century There is an alliterative romance of Joseph of Arimathea,* or Romance of the Saint Graal, written about the year 1350, which was first edited by Professor Skeat in 1871 from the Vernon MS at Oxford, that which contains the earliest form of the text of the "Vision of Piers Plowman" Its dialect is West Midland, modified by a southern scribe, and its theme is the earlier part of the legend of the Graal It tells how Joseph of Arimathea, after release by Vespasian from his forty-two years' imprisonment, which had seemed to him, with the Graal, only three days, was baptized, then he baptized Vespasian, and went, in obedience to a divine voice, with his wife and his son Josaphe to Sarras, taking the Holy Graal in an ark with him Evelak King of Sarras, was, by the help of two mystical visions, converted to the doctrine of the Trinity Josaphe, the son of Joseph, looking into the ark of the Graal, saw also a Vision of Christ crucified Josaphe was ordained bishop by Christ Joseph and Josaphe prevailed against defenders of idolatry, and when Evelak's land was invaded by Tholomer King of Babylon, Josaphe gave him a shield with the red cross upon

Romance

Joseph of Arimathea

* "E. W," iii., 134—156

it, and bade him pray to Christ in the hour of peril Evelak was taken by his enemy, and was being led to death, when he remembered this counsel, and uncovered the shield He was then rescued by an angel in the form of a white knight, who slew Tholomer Evelak, his wife's brother Seraphe, and five thousand of his subjects, became Christian His queen had shown to Joseph that she was already Christian Josaphe and Seraphe went away to bring many to Christ Joseph remained at Sarras, where the Holy Graal was in charge of two of his company The poem tells no more, beyond mention of Josaphe's release from imprisonment in North Wales by King Evelak, under his new name of Mordreius, taken at baptism

There is also a unique paper MS in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which contains a metrical version covering the same part of the story of Joseph of Arimathea and the Holy Graal This was made from the French prose of Robiers de Borron, about the year 1450, by Henry Lonelich, skinner It was first edited, together with the whole romance in the French prose of Robiers de Borron, for the Roxburghe Club, by Dr F J Furnivall, in 1861 *

To the romances of Sir Gawayne† let us add that of "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," which is found in the same MS with the beautiful poem of "The Pearl" already described, and which we shall find to be by the same author, written also in alliterative verse ‡ Its date is about 1360. It is a tale told afresh from the "Roman de Perceval," but has a form and spirit of its own

* It was afterwards included in the extra series of the Early English Text Society, in four parts, 1874-75-77-78 Lonelich produced also a metrical "Merlin," which is being edited for the Early English Text Society by Miss Mary Bateson and Dr Eugen Kolbing

† "E W" iii 277—280

‡ "E W" iv 144—149

Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight

Arthur and Guinevere kept Christmas and New Year at Camelot among their knights, when a bearded giant knight unarmed except that he had a huge sharp axe in one hand—he had a bough of holly in the other—rode into the hall He was clothed in green, bright as enamel upon gold, and rode on a green foal He came to try the courage of the knights Which of them would strike him a blow with the axe he brought, on condition that after a twelvemonth and a day, the striker took from him a return blow? He laughed aloud when no one stirred Arthur took the adventure and brandished the giant's axe The Green Knight stood firm for the blow and stroked his beard Gawayne knelt and asked for the adventure, the other Knights of the Round Table besought for him When this was agreed to, the Green Knight asked Sir Gawayne's name, and was content to take the blow from him if he first pledged his word "That thou seek me thyself wheresoever thou hopest I may be found upon earth, and fetch thee such wages as thou dealest me to-day" Gawayne asked the Green Knight where he lived, but was to wait till he had dealt the blow The Green Knight lifted his long locks, bent his neck, and Gawayne severed the head from the trunk, which then rushed forward and lifted the head from the ground The headless trunk then remounted the green foal, held towards Gawayne the head, which when it faced him spoke, and bade him seek the Green Chapel for the knight who was to give him back his stroke Then he turned his foal, and rushed out at the hall door, his head in his hand, that the fire of the flint flew from hoofs of the foal

Time passed, and on Allhallows Day the knights and ladies had a parting feast with Gawayne On the morrow he armed, heard mass, and, sped with tears and kisses, he went forth He travelled far without finding any who had seen a Green Knight or Green Chapel Winter came, and, near slain with sleet, he slept in his harness more nights than enough on naked rocks Christmas Eve came, and he prayed to the Virgin for direction On the morrow he reached a great forest, and prayed again that he might find where to hear mass He had crossed himself but thrice, when he saw on a hill a high castle that shimmered and shone among the oaks He sought lodging, and was welcomed and richly cared for The lord of the castle shared with him the Christmas feast, and would take him to the Green Chapel by the appointed time Let him lie at his ease next morning during mass time, and then go to meat with his hostess The knight of the castle

would go hunting with a hundred followers At the end of the day said the lord of the castle

> "Quat so ever I wynne in þe wod, hit worþeþ to youres*
> And quat chek so ȝe acheve, change me þerforne,
> Swete, swap we so, swaré with trawþe,
> Queþer lende so lymp lere oþer better ' †

When Gawayne awoke on his soft bed, the knight's lady had entered, sat by him and tempted him He remained true, and she gave him a kiss when she departed The lord of the castle returned, gave his venison to Gawayne, and asked what he had to give in exchange Gawayne gave him a kiss "Good," said the lord, "and better if ye told me where ye had it" "That," said Gawayne, "was not part of our agreement" Next day the lord hunted a boar, his lady tempted Gawayne again without success, and parted from him with two kisses On the third day the lord of the castle had only the skin of a fox to give in return for three kisses that had been given in like manner But the lady had asked Gawayne for a token, and he had answered that he had nothing to give She had offered him a ring, which he had refused to take because he had nothing to return for it She had then offered him her green girdle that was of little value, and when he refused that also, she had told him that he did not know its power, whoever is girt with it cannot be wounded or slain He thought that would help him in his coming adventure, took it, and would not tell that he had done so

Next day was New Year's Day, stormy and cold Gawayne armed himself, girded himself twice round with the green girdle, and went forth with his guide over rocks to the Green Chapel The guide pointed to the bottom of a woody dale, having told much of the terror of the grim one who was greater than four knights of Arthur's Court Gawayne saw no chapel in the dale, but having fastened his horse to a tree, he saw beyond a stream a hole in a hillside Then there was a terrible noise, as of scythe grinding, or the whirr of water at a mill Then the Green Knight, with a new axe, came out of the hole, crossed the stream, praised Gawayne for keeping promise, and was ready to give, as Gawayne to receive, the return blow with as little waste of words as possible Gawayne stooped a little, offering his neck The Green Knight lifted the axe high, and as it was falling

* Shall become yours

† To whichever man there so come loss or gain

Gawayne's shoulder shrank a little "That is not the brave Gawayne," said the knight, pausing "I did flinch," said Gawayne, "but I will not flinch again" He stood fixed as a rock Then, said the Green Knight, "Now that thy heart is whole, have at thee!" He looked savagely but again paused, as the stroke was falling "Smite!" said Gawayne "Is not your own heart failing?" Then the Green Knight bent his brows and smote fiercely, but he only cut the skin When Gawayne saw his blood on the snow, he bade the Green Knight cease He had taken stroke for stroke as he had promised But one stroke more would be requited "Be not wroth," said the Green Knight "I aimed two blows at you for the two kisses of my wife, but did not strike because they were restored to me The third time I did give you a tap because you kept the girdle and broke faith with me I knew all that was done, my wife did as I bade her But fault was small, and for ye loved your life, the less I blame you" Then Gawayne was ashamed, and angrily took off the girdle and threw it to the Green Knight, who said, laughing, that his clean confession made him guiltless

> "And I gif þe, sir, þe gurdel þat is gold hemmed,
> For hit is grene as my goune, Sir Gawayne"

"Come back now, to my castle and keep the New Year" "God reward you for your girdle," said Gawayne, "but since you are the lord of that land, I will ask only one question, How name you your right name? and then no more" His name, he said, was Bernlak de Beau-desert, his power was by might of Morgan la Fay, who dwelt in the house and had learnt much of Merlin, and was Sir Gawayne's aunt, Arthur's half sister She wished to try the knights, and grieve Guenevere to death with the grinning head 'But come, make merry in my house, we love you for your truth"

Gawayne went back to Arthur's Court, and told his adventure, and grieved for the scar in his neck that was a token of unfaithfulness But the king comforted him He had with him the green girdle, and every knight of King Arthur's Court thenceforth wore a green belt for Gawayne's sake *

Arthurian romances never fail There is a vigorous

* "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, an Alliterative Romance-Poem (ab 1360 A D) By the author of "Early English Alliterative Poems" Re-edited from Cotton MS, Nero A, X, in the British Museum, by Richard Morris Early English Text Society, 1865, second edition revised 1869

"Morte Arthure," in 4,346 lines of alliterative verse without rhyme, written in metre like that of "The Vision of Piers Plowman" We shall revert to it when we return to Scottish poets, and find it to be Huchowne's "Gest of Arthur" The poem is from a MS volume of verse and prose in English and Latin which is in the library of Lincoln Cathedral It was chiefly copied by Robert Thornton, a native of Oswaldkirk, in Yorkshire, who was Archdeacon of Bedford, in the diocese of Lincoln He was living in 1439, for he then, as archdeacon, attested a deed The poet of this "Morte Arthure" approaches his tale of the Round Table with prayer to God, to give us grace to guide and govern ourselves in this wretched world and that God will teach him to throw out words neither void nor vain, but pleasant and profitable to the people He begins his story with Arthur, who has conquered the chief part of Europe, now at Christmas feasting with the Knights of the Round Table and his bishops in Caerleon At the feast on New Year's Day a senator of Rome enters, demanding tribute in the name of Sir Lucius Iberius, the Roman Emperor The poet makes the same confusion between Procurator and Emperor, Lucius Iberius and Leo, that Barbour made at the beginning of his "Bruce," and that Andrew of Wyntoun excused Huchowne for having made

"Morte Arthure"

This introduces a tale of the wars against the Emperor of Rome, in which Arthur marches to Italy, fights battles on the way which are set forth in detail, meets giants in the ranks fighting against him, after a preliminary battle of his own with one grim giant, whom he finds, with his back to a great fire, gnawing a man s thigh bone Chief of his knights is, in this poem, Gawayne Arthur has portentous dreams, and, after he has sent tribute to Rome in the shape of the slain emperor carried upon an elephant, and has advanced to be crowned in Rome—

careful always to do no hurt to the lands of the Pope, for he says,

> "ȝif we spare the spirituelle, we spede bot the bettire,
> Whills we have for to speke, spille salle it never—"

he has an elaborate dream of the wheel of Fortune, which signifies that he is wanted to complete the number of the Nine Worthies, and his death is near He had left Modred in charge of Britain and Queen Guinevere A man comes in garb of a pilgrim, who proves to be his knight Sir Cradok, keeper of Caerleon He brings tidings of the treason of Modred Arthur turns back with his knights, overcomes at sea a fleet of the Danes, with whom Modred has made alliance, reaches the shore of Britain Gawain lands too hastily, sixty thousand are around his little band, he is slain in a great fight, by Modred, who bewails the loss of the best of Arthur's knights Arthur withdraws to Cornwall, but first, having landed, he bends over the dead Gawain, wets his beard in Gawain's blood, and follows to that last fight—of his own eighteen hundred against sixty thousand—in which Modred is slain and his force is overcome But Arthur, wounded to death, having thanked God for his victory, is taken to Glastonbury, and alights when he has entered the Isle of Avalon A surgeon of Salerno searches his wounds The king sees by the assay that he will never be sound He confesses, passes on the crown to Constantyne, his cousin, orders Modred's children to be slain and cast into the water As for Guinevere—if she had well wrought, well betide her She had taken the veil at Caerleon So King Arthur died, and was buried at Glastonbury

> "Thus endys kyng Arthure, as auctors alegges,
> That was of Ectores blude, the kynge sone of Troye,
> And of sir Pryamous, the prynce, praysede in erthe,
> ffro thethene broghte the Bretons alle his bolde eldyris
> Into Bretayne the brode, as the Bruytte tellys"*

* "Morte Arthure, or the Death of Arthur" Edited from Robert

The romance of "Merlin" in English prose of about he year 1440, taken from the French original, has been printed for the first time by the Early English Text Society, from its unique MS in the Cambridge University Library Its deficient last leaf is represented by translation from the original French MS in the British Museum *

The Prose Romance of "Merlin"

Here we may name, also—although it belongs to a date at the end of the fifteenth century, later than the first use of printing in England, but before its introduction into Scotland—a romance of "Lancelot," written by a Scot who used southern forms under the influence of Chaucer The writer tells in a prologue of his own, according to accepted form, how he walked forth at sunrise in April, thinking of his untold love for his lady, and he came to a leafy garden, and the birds sang as he slept, and he dreamt that a green bird told him to write something to please his lady, or tell her his love He awoke, and thought of the French romance of "Lancelot" He would tell her, in his own way, a part of that In saying what he would not tell of the beginning of the story, he gives it in a little summary But he will tell of wars of

"Lancelot of the Laik"

Thornton's MS, in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, by Edmund Brock A new edition 1871 The preceding edition, in 1865, also for the Early English Text Society, had been by the Rev George G Perry The first printing of this poem was by Mr J O Halliwell-Phillipps, in 1847, in an edition limited to seventy-five copies

* Additional MSS, No 10,292 The text of this English romance was edited by Mr H B Wheatley, in three sections, in 1865, 1866, and 1869, the third section including an Essay on Arthurian Localities, by Mr Stuart-Glennie, who argues strongly for an Arthurian Scotland, against exclusive attention to the local traditions of the West of England, and thinks that there may have been two Arthurs of romance, traceable back in history to the one sixth century leader of the Northern Cymry The fourth section of this edition of "Merlin," not yet published, will contain Preface, Index, and Glossary, by Dr W E. Mead.

Arthur, perilous and sharp and strong, for the defence of his land from Galiot, in which Lancelot bore the chief praise, and made accord between the princes

> "And how that Venus, siting hie abuf
> Reuardith hyme of trauell in to loue,
> And makith hyme his ladice grace to haue,
> And thankfully his service can resave "

The MS , which is in the Cambridge University Library,* does not give the happy close which the author had marked out for himself, but breaks off abruptly.

Charle-magne Romances

Wales was to the Bretons the land of Romance, and the trouvères north of the Loire rhymed tales of Arthur which came home to us as traditions of our own, translated into English, and translated also into Welsh Translations of the romances shaped in France still furnished to this country, in the fifteenth century, its chief supply of entertaining fiction The cycle of romance which had Charlemagne for its centre, a body of legend national to France, also gave work to the translators But the number of old MSS in England that hand down to us their work on Charlemagne romances is not great Some lines at the opening of the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," of which only fragments occur in MS ,† but which was

* Kk 1 5 This "Romans of Lancelot of the Laik" was first edited by Joseph Stevenson in 1839 for the Maitland Club, and since, with needful revision of the text, by Prof Skeat, for the Early English Text Society, in 1865, with revision for a new edition in 1870

† In the Auchinleck MS See "E W " iii , 281*n*, in the Harleian MSS , &c , and in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, from which copy was taken for the "Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries, published from Ancient Manuscripts With an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary By Henry Weber." 3 vols , Edinburgh, 1810 Vol I contains "Kyng Alexander," "Sir Cleges," and "Lay le Fraine ," Vol II , "Richard Cœur de Lion," "The Life of Ipomydon," and "Amis and Amiloun ," Vol III , "The

printed by Wynkyn de Worde, there is a reference to the delight in such tales, with a recital of subjects that interweaves the Charlemagne and Arthur romances with the romance of Alexander, and adds the romance of Troy—a very good metrical suggestion of the tales in chief request —

"Felé * romanses men make newe
Of good knightés strong and trewe,
Of hey dedys men rede romance,
Bothe in Engeland and in France
Off Rowelond and of Olyver,
And of every dose per, †
Of Alisander and Charlemain,
Of King Arthur and of Gawayn,
How they were knyghtes good and curteys,
Of Turpin and of Ocier Daneys,
Of Troyé men rede in ryme
What werre ther was in oldé tyme,
Of Ector and of Áchyllés,
What folk they slowe in that pres
In Frensshé bookys this rym is wrought,
Lewedé menné knowe it nought,
Lewedé menné cunne Frenche non,
Among an hondryd unnethis on, ‡
And nevertheles, with glad chere,
Fele off hem that woldé here
Noble joustis, I undyrstonde,
Of doughty knyghtes of Yngelonde "

Demand was greater, therefore, for the tales of Arthur than for tales of Charlemagne

The Turpin in this list was name-father to a Latin prose-romance written by some monk at an unknown date before

Seven Sages," "Octavian," "Sir Amadas," and "The Hunting of the Hare"

* Many

† One of the twelve peers—"douze pairs"—of Charlemagne

‡ Hardly one

the year 1122, in which year Pope Calixtus officially certified its authenticity It is a little older, therefore, than our own famous spring of romance, Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of British Kings" It professed to be a chronicle written by Turpin Archbishop of Rheims, a friend and secretary to Charlemagne, who was present at many of the scenes that he described, and it was called "Joannis Turpini Historia de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi" Because it was written to encourage faith in the Church, war against infidels, and reverence to the shrine of St James at Compostella, the Church vouched for its authenticity. It was by Archbishop Turpin, "excellently skilled in sacred and profane literature, of a genius equally adapted to prose and verse, the advocate of the poor, beloved of God in his life and conversation, who often hand to hand fought the Saracens by the Emperor's side, and who flourished under Charles and his son Louis to the year of our Lord eight hundred and thirty" The author of this Romance-Chronicle no doubt wove into its structure the available traditions of his time His work was turned into French verse and prose, and into Latin hexameters, and it began the series of tales of Charlemagne's peer Roland or Orlando Among the paladins of Charlemagne who appear in the romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by twelve of whom he was supposed to go attended, were Olivier, the son of Regnier Count of Gennes—the Oliver who matched Roland so closely in his deeds that when at last they fought for five days on an island in the Rhine neither obtained the least advantage, whence the phrase "a Roland for an Oliver," an equal match of blow for blow, Fierabras, Sir Otuel, Guerin Duke of Lorraine, Ogier the Dane

Turpin

Fierabras (ferox brachium or fera brachia, from his strength, or from ferrum as in the name Bras-de-fer, in English Sir Ferumbras) gave his name to the most popular

of the French Charlemagne romances. It remains in a Provençal version* and a French version, in two MSS. of the fourteenth century and two of the fifteenth. A prose version of it was printed at Geneva in 1478, and Caxton's "Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete," printed in 1485, was a translation from that French prose version of Fierabras. M. Gaston Paris has pointed out† that Fierabras is an expansion of an earlier poem, "Balan," with the scene of action changed to Spain, and with improvements in the story. The poem of "Balan" appears in English as the romance of "The Sowdon of Babylon."‡ "Sir Ferumbras" is a translation from the later "Fierabras." Its one MS.§ has date and place of origin suggested in an interesting way. Its parchment covers are made of old parchment documents belonging to the business of the diocese of Exeter. One touches the carrying out of a nomination by the Pope to the vicarage of Collumpton, the nomination being dated in May, 1356. Another piece of parchment in the cover records that the Pope's decision had been read one Sunday in 1377, before mass, in the chapel of Holne, on the consecration of a burial-ground there, which the Vicar of Buckfastleigh had regarded as infringement of the rights pertaining to his parish church. These parchments, that referred to little matters settled, became waste paper pertaining to the diocese of Exeter, to which the translator of "Fierabras" had access, and which he used; for part of his own MS. is

"Sir Ferumbras."

* "Der Roman von Fierabras provenzalisch, herausgegeben von Emmanuel Bekker." Berlin, 1829.

† "Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne." 1865.

‡ Edited in 1854 for the Roxburghe Club, from the MS. in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

§ Ashmole MS. 33, in the Bodleian.

written on the parchment of its cover The poem itself indicates that it was the work of an ecclesiastic, its parchment cover thus indicates that he was of Exeter, and that he made his version after 1377, in the time when Chaucer was at work upon his Canterbury Tales

The Sowdon of Babylon

was Balan, who drove the Christians from the Holy Land and, for the sins of the Christians, destroyed Rome In the spring season

> " When frith and feldé waxen gay
> And every wight desireth her like,
> When lovers slepen with open eye
> As nightingales on grené tree,
> And sore desire that they could fly
> That they mighten with their love be,"

Balan went to the woods to hunt, and when he rested after hunting, under a tree upon a height, he saw a ship near shore It was a ship that had gone out with great treasure from Babylon, and had been robbed of a great part of it by the Romans Balan vowed to Mahomed and Apolyn that he would destroy all the inhabitants of Rome

Then Balan summoned all his tributary kings, and seven hundred ships carried his force to the mouth of the Tiber The chief ship, with two idols set in the maintop to menace Christian doctrine, was fitted for the Soudon himself with his son Ferumbras King of Alexandria, and his daughter Floripas The country about Rome was wasted, the Pope's council advised that help should be sought from Charlemagne A brave Roman, Sabaryz, led a successful sally against the Saracens, and slew more than ten thousand of them Lukafere, of Bagdat, brought into the Saracen camp ten thousand captive maidens from the country round To avenge the defeat, they were all slain Lukafere asked for his wife the Soudon's daughter, Floripas In return he would bring Charlemagne and his twelve peers chained before Balan Floripas agreed to marry him when he achieved that adventure He was sent by Balan with thirty thousand men to assault Rome The assault was checked by a deep ditch Sir Mabon counselled the Soudon to fill up the ditch with fagots That was done next day, but the assault was checked by the brave Sabaryz On the third day it was known that Sabaryz would attempt a sally The Saracens made a banner like that of the

Roman, and when he had come out they went in, as if it were himself returning, whereby they got possession of a tower Sabaryz was shut out and slain by Estragot of Ethiopia, who was a strong king, with a head like a boar's and a great mace strong as steel

The Pope and the Romans were agreed now to seek help from Charlemagne The Soudon of Babylon made a great assault with engines devised by Sir Mabon, and laid part of the walls of Rome in ruin Estragot with his great mace smote the city gates into three fragments

> "In he entered at the gate,
> The porte-cullis they let down fall
> He weenéd he had come too late,
> It smot him through heart, liver, and gall."

The Pope resolved on a strong sally This, after the death of Sabaryz, would be a great surprise Twenty thousand should rush out, and ten thousand remain to guard the city Sir Ferumbras, going his rounds, discovered the movement in Rome, an hour before daybreak, and sounded the alarm There was a great fight The Pope came, behind his banner Sir Ferumbras bore him down, believing him to be an emperor, but cried shame on him when he removed his helmet to kill him, and saw his shaven crown The Pope was sent back to his prayers as a priest whom Sir Ferumbras thought it were shame to slay, and he returned with only five thousand, leaving fifteen thousand on the field Then Ispres who had charge of the chief gate of Rome made conditions with Balan for its betrayal He let in the Saracens, but Sir Ferumbras had his head struck off and carried on a spear before him to St Peter's. There they made spoil of all the treasures of the Church They spoiled also all the city and burnt all they could Then for three months Balan rejoiced, burnt frankincense to his idols, and held festival

> "Serpents in oil were fried
> To serve the Soudone withal,
> 'Antrarian ! Antrarian !' they cried,
> That signifyth 'Joye generale'"

Sir Guy of Burgundy, sent in advance by Charlemagne, now came into the wasted land, and found all so wasted that he had to wait for the main army of Charlemagne, which followed him There was great fighting between Sir Ferumbras, Sir Lukafere, and the Saracen knights, and the knights of Charlemagne headed by Roland and Oliver In the first great battle Sir Ferumbras confessed to Balan, his father,

that their gods, "what devil soever them ailed," had given them no help. Balan gathered new hosts of his tributaries, promised his gods a sacrifice, and ordered Ferumbras again to the attack upon the Christians. It is from this point that the old story is told in the Romance of

Ferumbras.

Ferumbras halted his army in a wood, and went forward with ten followers into the camp of Charlemagne, where he challenged to single fight Roland, Olivier, Guy of Burgundy, Richard of Normandy, Duke Naymes, and Ogier the Dane. Roland had just then a quarrel with Charlemagne, and refused. Let the old knights he had praised go and show their worthiness. Charlemagne struck him on the mouth, and he drew his sword, but the barons came between them. Oliver was in bed wounded, but rose for the fray. Ferumbras asked him his name, and when he said it was Generys, scorned to fight with an unknown youth. Oliver taunted Ferumbras to battle, then helped him to lace on his helmet, bowed to him courteously, and a fierce battle began. In the course of it Oliver cut from the saddle of Ferumbras two bottles of a precious balm that hung there, seized them, and threw them into the Tiber. After equal battle for some hours, the two knights rested. Oliver then told who he was, and the battle was renewed with greater fury, because Ferumbras remembered that Oliver had slain an uncle of his, Psaythai King of Italy. The end was that Ferumbras yielded horse and arms to Oliver—

> "I am so hurt I may not stonde,
>   I put me all in thy grace.
> My gods ben false by water and lond,
>   I renye them all, here in this place!
> Baptised now wol I ben."

But now the Saracens advanced, and Ferumbras was placed under an olive tree. Roland, desiring to help Oliver, bore all before him, but his horse was killed under him, and he had left behind his good sword Durindale. The common sword he had seized broke in his hand. He was made prisoner. Oliver, seeking to save Roland, was also unhorsed and taken. They were brought together before Lukafere, who took them before the Soudon. When Balan heard who they were, he vowed that they should die next morning; but this counsel was changed by advice of his daughter Floripas. They were to be kept as hostages for Ferumbras, and to starve in a dungeon until Ferumbras

returned Charlemagne, meanwhile, had found Ferumbras and saved his life , Archbishop Turpin was told to instruct him, and he was baptised by the name of Floreyn, which he did not use commonly, until, in his old age, he had left the wars

Roland and Oliver were in a dungeon under a garden by the sea, where at high tide the sea-water flowed in upon them Floripas heard their groans and pitied them Because her governess, Marigounde, would not help her to relieve the prisoners, she asked the governess to look down at the play of porpoises, and when she did so, pushed her over, so that she was drowned She asked the gaoler to help her to relieve the prisoners, and when, instead of doing so, he was going to tell the Soudon of what she had asked, she knocked his brains out with a great key hanging at his back Then she told her father that she had killed the gaoler for feeding the prisoners, and asked to have them in her care This being granted, she took them into her own chamber, bathed, and fed, and rested them

Charlemagne sent his peers to command restoration of his nephews, Roland and Oliver Balan sent in like manner twelve chief Saracens to command restoration of his son, Ferumbras The two bodies of ambassadors met and fought The Saracens were defeated, and the peers, having cut off the Saracens' heads, went on to the Soudon carrying the heads with them Balan vowed that they should die as soon as he had dined Floripas asked that they might be spared till after the meeting of a council, and that in the meantime she might be their gaoler This was granted , and she brought them to her chamber, where they found Roland and Oliver, and where she asked which of them was Sir Guy of Burgundy She was enamoured of him for his deeds She wished to become a Christian and be his wife Sir Guy, after some doubt, was persuaded to agree to this She drank to him and he to her It was agreed that they should attack the Soudon when at dinner

Before dinner Lukafere came to see the prisoners, and finding the door shut, broke it open He found nothing to suspect He asked the peers how they amused themselves between meals at the court of Charlemagne They jousted, they said, carolled and sang, shot darts, and played at chess "I will teach you a new play," he said He hung a live coal at a pole They were to blow the coal about towards one another He blew the coal into the long beard of Duke Naymes, and burnt it to the skin Duke Naymes seized a log from the hearth, struck Lukafere a blow that beat his eyes out, then threw him on the hearth, and held him down with a fire fork until he was burnt to death After this the peers rushed into Balan's hall and

slew all except Balan himself, who jumped out of window to the sand of the sea-shore The knights then were besieged in Balan's castle, which they held They were to be starved out, but Floripas had a magic girdle that satisfied for the next twenty-four hours the hunger of anyone who wore it but for a few minutes The Soudon, remembering this, sent a clever thief down the chimney into his daughter's chamber to steal it He had wrapped it round his body, when Floripas awoke Roland, hearing her cries, entered in time to cut off the thief's head, and throw his worthless body out of window But, alas ! the girdle was around the body, and so lost

Much adventure followed with a giant and a giantess, and treacheries of Ganelon, the false peer Charlemagne, like Coriolanus, following a flying host of Saracens, was shut alone within the gate of their fortress of Mantrible Then Ganelon said that Charlemagne was prisoner, Roland and Oliver were dead the crown, therefore, was his by right, and he commanded a retreat to France The retreat was begun, when

> " Ferumbras with ax in hond
> Mightily brake up the gate
> There might last him none iron bond ,
> He had near hand come too late "

So Ferumbras saved Charlemagne, and won the treasures of the fortress Charlemagne unhorsed the Soudon of Babilone, and was about to cut off his head when Ferumbras prayed that his father might not die unbaptised He was taken, therefore, a prisoner to the castle of Aigremor Floripas brought from Rome to Charlemagne the sacred relics taken from St Peter's Archbishop Turpin was summoned to make ready a great vat for the baptising of the Soudon Balan, but when Balan was brought to his baptism, he struck the archbishop and spat in the water He was therefore executed Floripas was married to Sir Guy Charlemagne brought the relics to the churches of Paris and St Denys Ganelon was hanged on a high gibbet at Montfaucon

"Roland and Ferragus

In the Auchinleck MS is found a romance of Roland's combat in Spain with a great giant Ferragus, forty feet high, sent by the Soudon of Babylon to challenge Charlemagne and his peers Ferragus picked his first antagonist, Ogier the Dane, from his horse, and carried him off under his arm to the castle of Vasers. He did the same with other peers , then with ten

knights at once But Roland held him in battle for a day, escaping from his blows, but unable to wound him with his good sword Durindale, and for another day, unable to wound him with a knotted club At noon they rested, and the giant snorted in sleep so uneasily, that Roland gave him ease by putting a stone under his head for pillow The giant, considering that a friendly act, chatted and told that he could only be wounded through the navel Then Roland attempted his conversion with a battle of theology, and when the giant had heard all, he said, Now let us try in battle which is right Roland, hard pressed in the fight, prayed, and was helped by an angel to the victory

"Sir Otuel"

In the same MS is a fragment of the romance of "Sir Otuel" Charlemagne had a strong enemy in the Saracen Prince Garsie, who, when Charlemagne sat with his peers at a great festival, sent as his messenger Otuel,

> "To speak with Charles king of this lond
> And with a knight that hight Rolond,
> And with another hight Olyvere,
> Knightés holden without peer,"

and to defy them in the name of Mahoun Otuel was so insolently bold, that a knight threw him down and took a knife from the table to stab him But Otuel's coat of mail could not be pierced, and he leapt up fiercely, drew his sword Courrouge, and cut down the offender Charlemagne heard Otuel's threat from Garsie that, unless he became Garsie's vassal and renounced Christ, France would be ravaged with fire and sword Roland listened calmly to Otuel's proud insults, a fight was arranged, and Otuel declared himself nephew to Ferragus, whose death he meant to avenge on Roland A stout fight is then described with relish—a fight on a peninsula resembling the old Scandinavian "holmgangr" At the most critical part of the combat Charlemagne and all his people prayed that the heart

of Otuel might be turned, and he be made a Christian A white dove then descended on the helmet of Sir Otuel He retreated a few steps, demanded parley, and offered to forsake his gods if he might wed the king's daughter Bellicent So the two knights became as brothers, and Charlemagne said that, with four such knights as Roland, Oliver, Ogier, and Otuel, he might defy all Saracens But there was fierce romance war with King Garsie, full of perils and hairbreadth escapes, to be brought to a triumphant end before the wedding

Free play of the imagination was in many an independent story of romance "Heylas, the Knight of the Swan" (Cygne spelt Sygne), was translated from French in the latter days of the writing of "Piers Plowman," into North Midland unrhymed alliterative verse, and became after the fifteenth century a romance in English

"The Knight of the Swan"

The Romance of the Chevalere Assigne

Beatrice, wife of King Oryens, was childless Her husband grieved when he saw a woman with twins She told him that no woman could have twins by one husband So she had herself six sons and a daughter at one birth, each with a silver chain about the neck The king's mother Matabryne exchanged them for a litter of puppies, and sent her man Marcus to drown the children But he could not do it, so he wrapped them in his mantle, laid them down, and went his way Matabryne showed the puppies to King Oryens, and asked that the Queen should be burnt

"Thenne she seyde, 'Let brenne her anone for þat is þe beste —
'Dame, she is my wedded wyfe, fulle trewe as I wene,
As I have holde her er þis, our lord so me helpe!'—
'A, kowarde of kinde,' quod she, 'and combred wrecche!
Wolt you werne wrake to hem þat hit deserueth?'—
'Dame, þanne take here þy selfe, and sette her wher þe lyketh,
So þat I se hit nogte, what may I seye elles?'"

The wicked mother put the Queen in prison, where she lay

eleven years Malkedias the Foiester discovered the children, who had been found and saved by a hermit and miraculously suckled by a hind Maicus, being questioned, told the truth, and had his eyes put out The Foiester was sent to kill the children, and bring to Matabryne the silver chains He found six only, one being away with the hermit When he took their chains off, the children became swans Matabryne gave the chains to a goldsmith to be made into a cup Half a chain was enough to make a cup as heavy as the six He returned the cup and half chain, keeping the other five, and the Queen gave him the half chain with his pay Then she urged that Queen Beatrice should be burnt, and when the King yielded to this, an angel came to the hermit, told him the case, bade him christen, as Helyas, the child who was to do battle for his mother And the child of twelve years old was christened, and taught what a mother was, and what a hoise was, and how people fought And he fared forth and came to the burning, and was armed and knighted, and was set on the King's horse Feraunce, and there was given him a shield with a cross on it Malkedras the Forester was armed against him, and while they fought the church bells rang of themselves And the child Knight of the Swan warned Malkedras to beware of the cross on his shield

" 'I charde not þy croyse,' quod Malkedras, 'þe valwe of a cherye ,
For I shall choppe it full small ere þenne þis werke ende '
An edder spronge out of his shelde and in his body spynnethe,
A fyre fruscheth out of his croys and frapte out his yen
Thenne he stryketh a stioke, Cheualere Assygne,
Euen his sholder in twoo and down in to þe herte,
And he boweth hym down and ȝeldeth up þe lyfe "

It is Matabryne who is burnt Five chains are got from the goldsmith and placed on the necks of five swans, who return to human shape But for the sixth swan there is no chain He remained always a swan, and it was doole to see the sorrow that he made *

* This romance, of which the unique MS is in the British Museum, Cotton MSS , Caligula A 2, was first edited in 1820 by Edward Vernon Utterson for the Roxburghe Club, only fifty copies being printed It was re edited for the Early English Text Society in 1868, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossarial Index, by Henry H Gibbs, M.A , of Exeter College, Oxford.

There are three separate versions of the romance of "Ipomedon," and of each of them only one known manuscript.*

"Ipomedon."

Sir Ipomedon.

King Meleager of Sicily was childless, and made his nephew Capaneus his heir. His sister was married to the Duke of Calabria. They had an only daughter who, at fifteen, by their death, was Princess of Calabria, and, for the good of the land, must wed. She was proud, and would have for her husband the best warrior in the world. That was, of course, to be Ipomedon who was the only son of Hermogenes King of Apulia. Ipomedon, after he had been carefully instructed by Tholomen, heard of the beauty of the Princess of Calabria, and obtained leave to travel that he might see the world, and especially that he might serve that princess.

He went to her with his tutor Tholomen, in great magnificence, concealed his name, pleased her eye, and became her cupbearer. The princess's cousin Jason became strongly attached to him. He had brought with him three greyhounds, and proved himself a most accomplished huntsman. When he had much interested the princess he left her until, her marriage being essential to the Calabrians, her hand was the prize of a tournament, presided over by her uncle Meleager. Ipomedon took with him three steeds, with trappings of white, red, and black, three greyhounds, white, red, and black, of which Sir Tholomen took private charge, and a maiden who was near of kin to him. He met Meleager hunting in the forest, put himself on familiar terms with Meleager and his queen, but professed only to go out hunting on each of the three days of the tournament, when he changed his dress, and was the victor at the tournament in his three colours successively of white and red and black. But into the palace each day he returned as from hunting, with the game caught by his greyhounds. Each day he revealed himself to his friend Jason only. He departed, having charged the host of his inn in the city to go to the challenging of the lists and make presents, as

* One, the longest and most important, though a very careless copy, is MS. 8,009 in the Chetham Library at Manchester. Another is the Harleian MS. 2,252. The third is a parchment MS. of the end of the fourteenth century, MS. 25, in the library of the Marquis of Bath. A very thorough study of Ipomedon has been lately made—"Ipomedon in drei Englischen Bearbeitungen von Eugen Kolbing," Breslau, 1889, with elaborate introductory discussion of the poem and its texts, both literary and linguistic.

directed by him, of the arms and horses of the three knights who were one

Then he departed His father died, his mother told him that he had an elder brother, who was born before her marriage, and gave him a ring that he would know whenever he saw it, therefore Ipomedon should wear it always Ipomedon went to the court of Meleager disguised as a fool, gave pleasure, and was told to go to meat He did so, on condition that he might have the next adventure A damsel on a white mule, with a dwarf at her side, came from the Princess of Calabria to ask help against the violence of Duke Geron of Sesseny, an odious suitor Ipomedon claimed the duke's promise, but the damsel disdained taking a fool for champion She departed, but Ipomedon followed She took no heed of him, but again, again, and again, on three successive nights, the seeming fool protected her from outrage On the third night it was the brother of Duke Geron himself whom he killed

> "All was black that he had on,
> Both his horse and his weed"

Ipomedon put on the armour of Geron, and then the damsel knew him and made approaches to him, but he still professed himself by his acts a madman and a fool In the armour of Geron's brother he overcame Geron in sight of the princess, who looked on from a high tower, and fled down the river, believing it was Geron who had overcome A knight of hers, Capaneus, and other knights, battled on her behalf against the stranger In the fight his gauntlet was struck off, and Capaneus saw the ring upon his finger Here was the long-lost brother, and the seeming brother of Geron, the seeming fool, the white knight, the red knight, and the black knight, all were one! The end, of course, was that the princess came ashore, and

> "On the morrow when it was day
> They buskéd them, as I ȝou say,
> Toward the church, with game and glee,
> To make that great solempnité
> The Archbishop of that land
> Wedded them, I understand"

Here the original trouvère has used names from the story of Thebes and other classical romances, and Ipomedon's

acting as fool at the court of Meleager has a family likeness to a chief feature in the romance of "Robert of Sicily"

What shall be said more in the enumeration of this host of tales? I will describe only one other, "Octavian," which has come down to us in a southern and a northern version *

"Octavian"

Octavian

Octavian had been five years Emperor in Rome, when he was wedded in Paris by Pope Clement to Floraunce, the fair white daughter of Dagabers King of France They had twins, whom the Pope christened Florent and Octavian But the Emperor's mother told him that no woman could have twins by one husband, and that the cook's knave was the father of one of the two, and she falsely contrived to make what she said seem clearly true Queen Floraunce with her two sons were put in a barrel to be burnt, but in spite of the urgings of the wicked mother, the Emperor relented, so Floraunce and her two sons were led out to be left in a wild forest where wild beasts were many There she saw a well, and sat down by it to bathe her children, but while undressing them she fell asleep for grief A female ape then carried off Florent But a knight fought with the ape and took the child The knight fell among outlaws in the wood, who took the child and the knight's palfrey A palmer ten foot high, who was a strong butcher in Paris, bought the child of the outlaws, and took him to Paris

A lioness ran off with the other child The distressed mother followed on her palfrey A griffin in search of prey carried off both lioness and child and flew with them to an island, where the lioness killed and ate the griffin, whelped, and gave suck to the child Octavian, whom she loved more than her two whelps The distressed mother came to the city, where she lived, by selling her jewels and her

* The southern English version of "Octavian" is in a paper MS of the middle of the fifteenth century (Cotton MSS, Caligula A 2) The northern version is in two MSS, of which one (Bishop More's MS, No 690), is in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and is of the earlier half of the fifteenth century, the other of the middle of the century, is in the Thornton MS, in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral Both versions give the poem in rhymed strophe, but the form of strophe is not the same for both There is only one known copy of the French original, and that is in the Bodleian, MS Hatton, 100

palfrey, till she saw a ship bound for Jerusalem and sailed away in it Ten of the sailors, on the way, visited an island where they saw a man child, white as a swan, suckled by a lioness When they told the wonder, "That is my child," said Floraunce She was taken to the island, brought her child away, the lioness following through the sea, and child and lioness were taken on board the ship They went to Jerusalem, where the child throve, and was always followed about by the tame lioness When the boy was fifteen he was knighted

Meanwhile Florent at Paris was sent to fair at ten years old with two of the butcher's kine, and the butcher's son Bonnefoy for his companion He was to be beaten if he sold them for less than sixty shillings On the way, Florent met a squire with a sparrowhawk that caught his fancy, and exchanged both bullocks for the hawk When he came home he was beaten by Clement the butcher, but he was allowed to keep the hawk, and should be thrashed if he suffered it to die for want of meat Soon after, seeing Florent idle, Clement would put him to another business He should be a money changer He was sent out to make exchange of ten gold florins He gave them for a black colt to a young man who had stolen it When he had come home riding his colt, he was beaten more than before But the butcher's wife saw that the boy must have been born of gentle blood, and got the truth from her husband of his purchase from the outlaws in the wood She remembered the exiling of Queen Floraunce and her boys This must be one of them Clement the butcher thought the same Profit would come of this The boy should be no more beaten He was furnished with hawks and hounds, though many blamed the butcher for his son Florent won the prize at wrestling, excelled all men in putting the stone He was loved by the King of France and by all Paris The Soudon of Babylon drove Octavian the Emperor and other rulers of Christendom into France, and had brought with him out of Egypt a terrible giant, Guymerrant (otherwise Cormoran *) who challenged the Christians to battle One of the twelve peers was cleft at the first assault, and the giant said "This is nought, send more" Before long he had slain all the twelve dusepers of France But Florent dreamt every night that the Queen of Heaven set him on a horse, and bade him ride against her foe So Clement went to offer Florent as a champion Florent was knighted Fierce combat is described Florent triumphed at last and overthrew the giant, and cut off his head, and made

* "This is the valiant Cornish man
Who slew the giant Cormoran "
Jack the Giant Killer

love to the Soudon's daughter The Soudon's daughter became love sick She told her father that she should be better if she were in a tent by the riverside, for frequent bathing that was good for her The tent was pitched for her by the river, and she sent word to Florent to come in a boat and carry her away He did so She was christened in Paris and married The angry Soudon hewed and beat his gods, and sent for further help to Babylon Then the tale tells how Clement the butcher beguiled the Soudon of a marvellous horned horse that had a unicorn for sire The heathen forces beset Paris in such numbers that the prowess of Florent was unavailing He and the King of France and the Emperor and ten thousand great lords were sent in chains to Babylon The Soudon remained in France, but Clement escaped with the Soudon's daughter

When these tidings reached Jerusalem, where Floraunce lived with her son Octavian, who had put his lioness in armour and was victorious in all assaults, the King of Jerusalem raised a host to save Christendom, and young Octavian was banner bearer They camped at Acre, and were ready against the landing of the Saracens who had the Christian prisoners in charge There was a great battle in which the lioness was slain, but the Saracens were destroyed and their prisoners set free, and Octavian and Florent were famous heroes After the battle, the Emperor went back to Paris The Soudon's head was cut off and sent to be set up on a high tower of Rome

When Clement the butcher, who had fled into Aquitaine, heard that the Soudon was dead and there was peace in France, he went back to Paris with his wife and the Soudon's daughter He gave the Soudon's daughter to Florent Clement was knighted Floraunce made herself known to the Emperor her husband in the presence of the King of France her father She told of her son Octavian, whom the Emperor embraced She heard the name of Florent and knew her other son, Clement supplying evidence The Emperor received wife and sons, and the wicked old Empress who had sought the burning of Floraunce was herself burnt in a fire of thorns

Thomas Chester "Lybeaus Disconus" "Launfal"

So these romances played their variations on a few good tunes In some sense, to have read a score of them is to have read them all But the resemblances of phrase and style make it almost certain that the author of the southern English version of the romance of "Lybeaus Disconus," and of the romance of "Launfal," who at the end of that poem gives his

name as Thomas Chester, wrote "Octavian" The phrasing in Chaucer's "Sir Thopas" also points not indistinctly to the fact that in the writing of "Sir Thopas" Chaucer had these pieces of Thomas Chester's more especially in mind * The romance of "Isumbras" is a reflection from the romance of "Octavian," as that may have been a reflection from the Church Legend of Saint Eustachius, one of the pieces in which saints' legends and tales of chivalry were most distinctly children of one house The romantic tales of which we have now seen the character formed through two centuries, together with Church legends, the fiction current among us They represented, set among free fancies of giants, and wild beasts, and griffins, mediæval views of worship and of war Their battles were made up of single combats between liberal and dauntless knights who in their code of honour had idealised the highest standard of the ethics of their time, but allowed frauds and cruelties, and knew love rather as appetite of the body than as aspiration of the soul for light upon the way to a true heaven Even their religion was but a more beautiful idolatry

"Isumbras"

Romance in Spain took in these days a new departure of its own The author of "Amadis de Gaul," first and best of a line of long Spanish prose romances, was a Portuguese gentleman, Vasco de Lobeira He lived in Chaucer's time, and possibly shook hands with Chaucer, for he was knighted in 1385 by that king, John the First of Portugal, to whom John of Gaunt married his daughter Philippa, in 1387, and both may have been present in France at the wedding Lobeira died three years after Chaucer, and his "Amadis de Gaula" (Gaul being Wales) was of like date with

Vasco de Lobeira's "Amadis"

* Dr Gregor Sarrazin, in the preface to his edition of "Octavian" (1885), pp xxiii to xxxi, has made out these points very clearly See "E W" v 327

writing of "The Canterbury Tales" It was an original invention, little based upon the French romances, although containing references to the story of the Graal, and of the greatly virtuous King Arthur, and to the book of Don Tristan and Lancelot No copy of that Portuguese original of "Amadis of Gaul" is now known,* and it is represented in literature by a translation into Spanish made at the end of the fifteenth century by Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo, governor of the city of Medina del Campo After that time "Amadis" had great influence upon the romance literature of Europe

Amadis was a knight of the first years of Christianity, born of a princess of Gaula, Elisena, who was ashamed of his unlawful birth, and exposed him on the sea. There he was found by an English knight, who carried the Child of the Sea to Scotland, where he met the peerless Oriana, daughter of an imagined king of England, Lisuarte Perion King of Gaula (Wales), having married Elisena, she had by him a son, Galaor, brother of Amadis. Force, fraud, enticement, magic, beset the knights Amadis and Galaor, and Amadis, after proving against every trial that as a true knight he was faithful, brave, and chaste, married his Oriana

Here, again, Wales was a fairyland to the romancer beyond sea, and fictions never shaped in England had their play-ground upon English soil But for ourselves, our old romances were translations, freely made, and sometimes with honest homely touches introduced into them that would have been too matter of fact for the trouvère who first arranged them into verse Once or twice, when a man of genius dealt with them, he struck into the foreign tales a

* Its manuscript was said in 1750 to be in the archives of the Dukes of Aveiro in Lisbon, whose palace was destroyed with all its contents in the great earthquake and fire of 1755 See George Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature", ed 1863, vol 1, p 200.

deeper life It was from Walter Map that the soul came into the King Arthur legends, when he joined them to the story of the Graal, and lifted them from earth to heaven We have seen also how the genius of Chaucer worked upon two foreign tales of chivalry Barbour took only the form of a romance of chivalry to make the name of Bruce a power in his country So we shall find also that our sober home-bred literature in the fifteenth century, when it was not making free translations, dealt entirely with realities of life

CHAPTER IV

"RICHARD THE REDELESS"—"PLOWMAN'S CREED AND TALE"

WILLIAM LANGLAND closed his life as a writer, and may be said to have closed the records of our literature in the fourteenth century, with a poem, written not long before the deposition of Richard the Second, which Professor Skeat has rightly named "Richard the Redeless" This is, so far as we know, the one other poem written by the author of "The Vision of Piers Plowman" There is but a single MS of it, which is in the library of Cambridge University * There it is joined in the handwriting of the same transcriber to a copy of the "Vision of Piers Plowman" The MS is of the middle of the fifteenth century, with a few marginal notes in a much later hand It is not finished, and Professor Skeat fairly suggests that it may have been left unfinished by Langland Internal evidence shows that it was being written in September, 1399, and Richard was formally deposed on the 30th of that month, after which date Langland may not have cared to write more The whole number of lines in the poem, as we have it, is eight hundred and fifty-seven They are lines of alliterative verse, in form and diction absolutely corresponding to the verse of Langland's greater poem The work is Langland's also in the manner and the power of its thought

"Richard the Redeless"

As he prayed in Trinity Church, Bristol (Richard had

* MS Ll 4 14, or M S xix of the Piers Plowman MSS

sailed to Ireland from Bristol, and in Bristol Scrope was executed), there were, says the poet, tidings of wonder and doubt, while Richard went west to war on the Irish, Henry entered on the east,

> "Whom all the londe loved in lengthe and in brede,
> And ros with him rapely to rigten his wronge"

The truth of the tales troubled him, for he could not see the end his whole heart had been with the king

> "while he in helthe regned
> And ffor I wuste not witerly what shulde ffall,
> Whedir God wolde geve him grace sone to amende,
> To be our giour,* ageyn, or graunte it another,
> This made me to muse many tyme and ofte
> For to written him a writte to wissen him better,
> And to meuve of mysserewle"

He would comfort the king and gladden him with words of faith in the King of Kings His mind as well as body ought to serve the king He gave, therefore, his five wits to the writing of this treatise, to teach men thereafter to beware of wilfulness Reason is no reproof, but amend that ye find amiss. Youth has many faults, and it will not hurt even the highest in the land if Age correct them If any word anger my sovereign

> "I put me in his power, and preie him, of grace,
> To take the extent of my trouthe that thougte no ylle"

The story is of none who strive against their lusts, but of those following their flesh and their frail thoughts If the verse give clear counsel and it be not followed,

> "Blame not the berne that the book made,
> But the wickyd will and the werkes after"

Such is the prologue to an English poem, a piece not

* Giour, guide

translated from the French, that speaks home truths fearlessly, and goes straight to the heart of the chief question of its day Even our chroniclers of old carèd less for lance and trumpet than for the well being of the land, and weighed the deeds of kings against their duties

The First Passus opens with the warning to the king who turned from wise counsel,

> "Now Richard the redeless, reweth on ȝou-self
> That lawless leddyn ȝoure lyf and ȝoure peple bothe"

Care has come of riot and the counsel of ill men, "and covetise hath crasid ȝoure croune ffor evere' Learn what establishes allegiance The pilling of the people for his idle companions, tallage of towns when there was no war, and pitiless rifling of the poor, has it helped him as well as the "ledinge of lawe with love well ytempred?" Allegiance without love little availeth Richard had come, a child, to his kingdom No king under heaven could have found a brighter crown, jewelled with gems of peace and justice, with hard diamonds feared only by the persecutors, with sweet sapphires of pity for the wronged, a crown traced all about with truth and trust, well made for wearing of a Christian king What has become of that crown? They who were nearest to it plucked away its power Again follows the firm setting forth of the oppression of the people No faults were found till Fortune changed Blame not your Council, but blame more yourself You chose for your counsellers men young in years, who cared for themselves only Your cleaving was to knaves, and ye all stumbled

The Second Passus dwells upon the peril that grew, and dread of some "for eye of the Egle that oure helpe brouȝte" Richard's lieges loved him the less for the ill deeds of the men in gay brooches, who wore his badges and bore down the poor For one of these that he marked, he missed ten score of homely hearts

> " But it longith to no liegeman his lord to anoy,
> Nother in werk ne in word, but if his witt ffayle
> 'No, redely,' quod Reson, 'that reule I alowe,
> Displese not thi demer in dede ne in wordis
> But if the liste ffor to lede thi lyf in dissese
> But ȝif God have grauntyd the grace ffor to knowe
> Ony manere mysscheff that myȝtte be amendyd,
> Schewe that to thi sovereyne to schelde him ffrom harmes,
> Ffor and he be blessid, the better the betydeth
> In tyme ffor to telle him, ffor thi trewe herte '
> Now ffor to telle trouthe, thus than me thynketh,——

and the vigorous recital is continued of misrule and oppression till the Eagle—called also the Falcon—that is, Henry of Bolingbroke—spread his wings for shelter to the people He covered them till their feathers grew and they could dwell on the hill away from venom of the valley, and till Truth the triacle told some her sooths Then this Eagle or Falcon made short work of such kites as the king's favourites and misleaders, Bushy, Scrope, and Green,* who are glanced at in these lines—

> " Thus baterid this bred [bird] on *busshes* aboute,
> And gaderid gomes on *grene* ther as they walkyd,
> That all the schroft and *schroup* sondrid ffrom other "

Thus the Falcon went fowling, and ever hoved on high, and brought down the kites and crows that haunted carrion

The Third Passus leaves Bolingbroke, "this beau brid," and takes up a fresh parable There is not mischief greater than that against nature The Hart, when old and feeble, seeks to renew strength by finding the Adder, that steals on the steeds to sting them to death The Hart makes the Adder his prey, feeds on his venom, and is strong again It is of the nature of clergy not to strive with the Horse [the Horse was the Earl of Arundel, beheaded, by order of

* They were beheaded at Bristol on the 29th of July, 1399

Richard, in 1397], grieve the Colt [Arundel's son Thomas, who fled to Bolingbroke, and landed with him at Ravenspurgh on the fourth of July, 1399], nor to strive with the Swan [the Duke of Gloucester, Richard's uncle, murdered by his order], nor to bait or bind the Bear [the Earl of Warwick, basely entrapped by King Richard himself, whom Richard asked to dinner and seized treacherously] Therefore the Harts missed their healing "Construe who can," says Langland, "I say no more, but fare I will to the fowl that I before told"

Then comes another parable When a hen partridge leaves her eggs, another sits on them, but when the young birds are hatched and ill-nourished, if their own mother come near they know her voice, then she returns to them and fosters them So the poor nestlings, when they heard the note of the Eagle, who had put away the Kites, looked up to him and knew his voice, and babbled with their bills of all that they had suffered two-and-twenty years Two-and-twenty years that was the time from 1377, when Richard was crowned, to 1399, when this poem was written The people left their leader, who misled them, tolled their corn, gathered their groats—

> "Than ffolwid they her ffre ffader, as good ffeith wolde,
> That he hem ffede shulde and ffostre fforther,
> And bringe hem out of bondage that they were brougth inne"

The swimmers sighed, for the Swan failed They followed the Falcon with many fair fowl, who were heavy for the hurt that the Horse had, to have the Eagle's help from their old harm, for he was head of them all, and highest of kind, to keep the crown, as the chronicle telleth Thus Langland urges Henry's right to the succession, and then tells how he burst the bonds of the Bear [released Warwick from prison], and let him go at large to leap where he would By Langland, as by Gower, Richard's fall is

associated closely with the *coup d'état* of which the seizure of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick made a part

Then Langland goes back to the luxury, the fine clothes and long sleeves of Richard's courtiers, who had nothing inside their clothes,

> "That neuer reed good rewle, ne reson's bookis,
> Ffor ben they rayéd ariȝth they recchith no fforther,
> But studieth all in stroutynge, and styreth amis euere"

The poem condemns the luxury of long sleeves, and of crafty carvings of cloth that cost ten times double the price of the cloth itself Langland pours out his full vial of contempt upon fantastic curiousness in the fashion of clothes on the fine courtier, for whom, if Pernil praised the pleats behind, the costs were accounted, pay when he might Money was spent for pride or rancour, not for comeliness or kindness, by men who lived "to stroute and to stare and stryue aȝeyn vertu" Old Stedfastness stood, with his great bent brows and a beard, among this reckless people He was homely dressed, in the old shape, according to the weather, and wondered how the king's high house could hold half the idle household But he could not stand long He was turned out for his old clothing, and had leave to go ere he drank The courtiers wondered how he had got in, but when they found that his name was Wit, and that the king knew him not, he was hunted out and scorned for wearing sleeves of the old shape—

> "Thus Malaperte was miȝtffull and maister of hous,
> And euere wandrid Wisdom without the ȝatis"

Wrongs after wrongs are urged "Though," says Langland, "I sat a week and slept full seldom, there would be many more wrongs that I could write"

The Fourth Passus, short and unfinished, asks Where was ever any Christian king that held such a household as

was Richard's in this realm? All his fines, fee-farms and forfeitures, nonages, issues of court, rents, wool customs, would not suffice to pay the poor people that which his purveyors took When riot and revel had left only bare bags, the bags must be filled again Then they feigned some folly that failed them never, to summon a privy parliament for profit of themselves As soon as it met, money was moved for Then follows a vigorous sketch of the degradation of the English Parliament, towards the close of which the poem breaks off, ending with these lines on the men sent to Parliament—

> " Some helde with the mo*, how it euere wente,
> And some dede 'riȝth so,' and wolld go no fforther
> Some parted as perte as prouyd well after,
> And clappid more ffor the coyne that the king oweth hem
> Thaune ffor comfforte of the comyne† that her cost paied,
> And were behote hansell ‡ if they helpe wold,
> To be seruyd sekirly of the same silvere
> And some dradde dukis and Do-well fforsoke , . "

Thus the chief English writers dealt with wrongs to be righted, monsters to be overcome Wrongs were their Saracens, and against them they drew—and draw, and shall not cease to draw—from the long battle of life their tales of Christian chivalry

Another poet, whose name is forgotten, produced at the close of the fourteenth century—probably in 1394 and 1395—two pieces which he associated with the two greatest poetical works of his day One was in alliterative verse, after the manner of "The Vision of Piers Plowman," and was called "Pierce the Plowman's Crede" The other was in rhyming ballad

"Pierce the Plowman's Crede"

* With the greater number † The Commonalty
‡ Promised hansel, bribed

stanzas, and professed to be a story by the Plowman whom Chaucer had reckoned as one of his Canterbury Pilgrims—"The Plowman's Tale" Professor Skeat has been the first to show that these two poems are from the same hand When the Pelican in "The Plowman's Tale" says—

"The Plowman's Tale"

> "Of freres I have told before
> In a making of* a Crede,"

he refers certainly to the previously written "Pierce the Plowman's Crede" As the Pelican stands for every good Christian who was called a Lollard for endeavouring to check pride and worldliness among the clergy, it is not necessary to believe that the poet means himself by his Pelican when he says, "I have told before" But it is not improbable that he does, and when Mr Skeat adds to the resemblance in tone of thought, good evidence of the frequent occurrence in both poems of such words and terms of speech as may more fairly be accounted proper to an individual writer than common to two, he adds all argument necessary to convince us that the author of "The Plowman's Tale" (which was first printed in Chaucer's works in the edition of 1542), did mean himself when he wrote that he had told before of the Friars "in a making of a Crede"

The Ploughman of the Creed is simply a ploughman The poet supposes himself to know his Paternoster and his Ave Maria, but not yet his Creed He must learn it before Easter, and would like to have it from a man, learned or unlearned, "that liveth thereafter, and fully followeth the faith and feigneth none other" Where shall he find such a man to teach him his Creed properly? He asks the Friars, meets one morning a

The Crede

* *A making of*, a poem about "Maker" was the Old English name for poet, as ποιητής in Greek means maker

Minorite (Franciscan), and asks of him where he shall get the knowledge he needs. A Carmelite, he said, had offered to teach him. "But," he says to the Minorite—"but, for thou knowest Carmes well, thy counsel I ask." The Minorite laughs at the questioner, and holds him mad for supposing that the Carmelites can teach anything of God, whom they know not. So the narrow feuds between order and order are suggested, while the jugglings and backslidings of the Carmelites are dwelt upon by a Franciscan, who glorifies his order in a way that does not exalt it, boasts of his great buildings and painted windows—"And mightest thou amenden us with money of thine own, thou shouldest kneel before Christ in compass of gold in the wide window westward, well nigh in the middle, and Saint Francis himself shall fold thee in his cope and present thee to the Trinity, and pray for thy sins. Thy name shall nobly be written and wrought, and in remembrance of thee read there for ever. And, brother, be not afraid! Bethink in thine heart! Though thou know not thy Creed, I shall absolve thee."

When the seeker had applied Christ's words to this manner of well-doing, he went farther in search of a man to teach him, and came next to the Dominicans, whom he found housed in royal splendour. After he has painted in verse one of their great convents, he says, "Yet these builders will beg a bag full of wheat of a poor man that may hardly pay half his rent in a year and half be behind! Next he found a friar on a bench, a great churl and a grim, grown as a tun, with a face as fat as a full bladder, and his chin with a jowl as great as a goose egg grown all of grease, that his flesh all wagged as a quagmire." To this Dominican the seeker told his want, and said that an Austin Friar had offered to help him. Thereupon the Dominican abused the Austin Friar, and said that his own order was greatest of degree, as Gospels tell.

"Ah, sir," quoth I then, "thou say'st a great wonder, for Christ said Himself to all His disciples, Which of you that is most, most shall he work, and who is goer before, first shall he serve"

He tried next an Austin Friar, and opened upon him with talk of a Minorite This brought abuse of the Minorites from the lips of one of a rival order, followed by the Austin Friar's picture of himself Then visit was paid to a Carmelite, and to him a Dominican was cited, which brought down the contempt of the white friar upon the black The Carmelite dwelt upon the worth of his prayers and masses, and wanted value for them "A mass of us mean men is of more meed and passeth all prayers of these proud friars An thou wilt give us any good, I would grant thee here to take all thy penance on peril of my soul, and though thou know not the Creed, clean thee assoil, so that thou better our house with money, or with some chattel, or corn, or cups of silver"

But as the searcher said that he had not a penny, the friar left him in scorn to hie to a housewife, who had bequeathed to his house ten pounds in her testament. Then —let me here drop the old spelling—

> "Then turned I me forth and talked to myself
> Of the falsehood of this folk, how faithless they weren,
> And as I went by the way, weeping for sorrow,
> I saw a sely[1] man me by upon the plough hangen,
> His coat was of a clout that cary[2] was y-called,
> His hood was full of holes, and his hair out,
> With his knopped shoon clouted full thick,
> His toen toteden[3] out as he the land treaded,
> His hosen overhungen his hockshins[4] on everich a side

[1] *Sely*, simple

[2] *Cary*, the name of a coarse kind of cloth,

[3] *Toteden*, peeped To tote is to look out or about, whence Tothill, a hill good to tote from

[4] *Hockshins*, hosekins, small hose, gaiters

All beslobbered in fen as he the plough followed,
Two mittens as mete,[1] made all of clouts,
The fingers weren for-werd,[2] and full of fen hanged
This wight waseled[3] in the fen almost to the ankle,
Four rotheren[4] him before, that feeble were worthen,[5]
Men might reckon each a rib,[6] so rueful they weren
His wife walkéd him with, with a long goad
In a cutted coat, cutted full high,
Wrapped in a winnow sheet, to weren[7] her from weathers,
Barefoot on the bare ice that the blood followed
And at the land's end lay a little crumb bowl,
And thereon lay a little child lapped in clouts,
And twain of two years old upon another side,
And all they sungen one song, that sorrow was to hearen,
They crieden all one cry, a careful note
The sely man sighed sore, and said, 'Children, be'th still!'
This man lookéd upon me and let the plough standen,
And saidé, 'Sely man, why sighest thou so hard?
If thee lack livelihood lend thee I will
Such good as God hath sent —go we, lief brother'
I said then, 'Nay, sir, my sorrow is well more,
For I con not my Creed I care well harde,[8]
For I can finden no man that fully believeth
To teachen me the highway, and therefore I weep'"

Then comes from Pierce the Plowman warning against hypocrisy and pride of those by whom God's word was overlaid with glosses Witness, he says—

[1] *Mete*, scanty First-English "mæ'te," moderate, small

[2] *For-werd*, worn out. First-English "forwered," from "weran," to wear

[3] *Waseled*, bemired himself First-English "wase," dirt, mire

[4] *Rothern*, oxen First-English, "hryther"

[5] *Worthen*, become

[6] *Each a rib*, each one rib So before, "Everich a side," every one side

[7] *Weren*, defend First English "wæ'ran"

[8] *I care well harde*, I trouble very greatly "Well" was a common intensive prefix The *e* in "harde" is an adverbial ending First-English "hearde," severely, greatly, above all things.

"'Witness on Wyclif that warned them with truth,
For he in goodness of ghost graithly[1] them warned
To waiven their wickedness and works of sin
How soon these sorry men serveden his soul
And over all lolléd him[2] with heretic's works!'"

The Ploughman points to the likeness between friars and the Pharisees, and shows how far they were gone from the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount—

"Behold upon Wat Brute, how busily they persueden
For he said them the sooth and yet, sir, further
They may no more marren him, but men telleth
That he is an heretic and evil believeth,
And preacheth it in pulpit to blinden the people
They wolden awyrien[3] that wight for his welldeeds,
And so they chewen Charity as chewin schaf hounds,
And they pursueth the poor and passeth pursuits,
Both they wiln and they wolden yworthen so great
To passen any man's might, to murtheren the souls,
First to burne the body in a bale of fire
And sithen the sely soul slayen, and senden her to hell"

The Ploughman spoke his mind also of the monks, and ended by the utterance of the truth in simple words As God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and base things of the world and things which are despised hath God chosen, the poor ploughman, whose first impulse was of Charity towards a sufferer, became the teacher of the Christian's Creed[4]

[1] *Graithly*, straightly

[2] *Lolled him*, called him "Lollard"

[3] *Awyrien*, curse

[4] "Pierce the Plowman's Crede" has been edited from collation of two MSS with the old printed text of 1553, and fully supplied with notes and glossary by the Rev Walter W Skeat, who adds to it in the same two-shilling book a poem of about A D 1500, "God spede the Plough" It is published for the Early English Text Society

"The Plowman's Tale," by the same author, puts into another form the common protest of the time against the worldliness that had corrupted those who should be guardians of faith, encouragers of hope, embodiments of the charity without which, though the Christian teacher speak with tongues of men and angels, he is nothing worth It begins with direct reference to the rising controversy between those who were called Lollards and their persecutors—

The Tale

> "A sterné strife is stirréd new
> In many stedés in a stound,
> Of sundry seedés that ben sewe
> It seemeth that some ben unsound
> For some be great growen on ground,
> Some ben souble,* simple and small,
> Whether of them is falser found,
> The falser, foul mote him befal!"

The strong tares are the corruptions of Popes, cardinals and prelates, parsons, monks, friars and great abbots, who keep the gates of heaven and hell On the other side are poor, pale excommunicated people, who are called Lollards, and are not the high ones of the earth Ill betide falsehood on whatever side it fall Which was the falser of these two, the poet says, I sought in vain to know, until one day I heard, in a wood, dispute between a Griffin and a Pelican The Griffin, grim and sharp as fire, pleaded upon the Pope's side The Pelican argued for the Lollards, on behalf of mercy and meekness, that Christ himself was likened to a Lamb in sign that he was meekest, for Pride had fallen out of heaven So should each Christian be lowly Priests, the successors of St Peter, should avoid crowns, furs, palls, and full coffers, they should not be proud, greedy, and intolerant,

* *Souble*, French *souple*, supple, yielding, not able to stand firm against pressure

doers to death of those who say that they can sin They claim to bind and loose, they stir up strife, and many a man is now slain to determine which of them shall have lordship but Christ said, "He who takes the sword shall die by the sword" They take on themselves royal power and say they have two swords, one "Curse-to-hell," one "Slay-men-here" But Christ bade Peter keep his sheath and forbade him to smite with the sword

Such was the plea of the Pelican, to which the Griffin answered with fierce violence, threatening to tear his antagonist to pieces, and make his flesh rot for his slander against Holy Church

The Pelican was left weeping, and would that any of Christ's sheep had heard all that was said, and would write it and preserve it for the grace of God Then the Plowman speaks He has heard, but why, he asks, does the Pelican tell men of their trespasses ?—To amend them if it so may be The Pelican desires to be like Christ, who feedeth his birds with his blood But these under friends' faces are the foes of God May God amend them for His grace! The poem ends with the bringing of the Phœnix to destroy the Griffin, and with the Griffin's fall—death, in the Church, of pride, and greed, and violence—vanishes all his following of "ravens, rooks, crows, and pies" This, says the poet, is the writing of the Pelican, who may be mischievous, for the devil is often disguised to bring a man to evil grace Blame, if ye will, the Pelican, not me; and take this as a fable I submit myself to Holy Church God mend us all, and if I write amiss forgive me for His grace

Wat Brute

The Walter Brute, upon whom the Ploughman in the "Crede" bids men think, has been mentioned before as a Lollard, at whose trial Nicholas of Hereford was present in October, 1393 * He was a learned private gentleman in the diocese of Hereford, who, though

* "E W" v 64

a layman, was urged by religious feeling to teach openly and privately, assisted by two intimate friends, William Swinderby and Stephen Ball They sought reform of church discipline, and held the opinions of Wyclif In 1392 Richard II issued a commission, addressed to the Mayor of Hereford and noblemen and gentlemen of the county, authorising them to investigate charges against Walter Brute of heresy and keeping of conventicles Walter Brute defended himself, and withdrew into private life, but William Swinderby and others, quitting the diocese of Hereford, continued their work in Wales The persecution was continued, and in 1401 Swinderby was burnt in Smithfield

Lollards

Of the name of Lollard, that was given to the followers of Wyclif, there are different explanations I believe it to be an application to heretics of the word held to represent what was meant by the Greek *zizania* in the 13th chapter of Matthew, the tares sown by the enemy among the wheat The Latin Vulgate version kept the Greek word *zizania*, and a collection of heretical writings was entitled "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" But the *zizania* were held to be darnel, lolium, then often spelt "lollium," which grows among good corn, having much resemblance to it, and is very poisonous In the old Latin rendering of the Persian version of the Gospels, the passage runs "Quin tu, O Domine, semen bonum in agro tuo seminâsti, Lolium igitur inter illud unde provenit? Ille respondit, Quispiam per inimicitiam injecit Servi dixerunt, Permitte itaque nobis ut Lolium exinde secernamus" Christ's answer by no means justified Church practice in dealing with the tares William Langland, in the "Vision of Piers Plowman," describing himself on Cornhill, played on the analogy of this word to Loller or idler, and so easily returned it on the friars Chaucer seems to have had in mind the relation of the word to Lolium When the Host, having with an idle oath called on the Parson for a tale, is gently rebuked "I smell a loller in the wind,

quoth he . This loller here wol prechen us somewhat," and the Shipman, who stops him by interposing a tale, says of the good town Parson—

> " He wolde sowen some difficultee,
> *Or springen cockle in our clené corn* "

Such accusation levelled against the man whom he clothes with apostolic virtue, and whom he afterwards does make to preach, proves the goodwill of Chaucer to these persecuted Churchmen

CHAPTER V

LYDGATE AND OCCLEVE

WHEN Chaucer died in the year 1400, John Lydgate and Thomas Occleve, the two poets of lower mark who won most fame amongst those who wrote for the next generation, were men of twenty or thirty John Lydgate was born in Suffolk, at the small village of Lydgate,* six or seven miles from Newmarket The date of his birth is not known, but he was ordained sub-deacon in the Benedictine Monastery of Bury St Edmund's in 1389, so that he would hardly have been born later than 1370 He was ordained deacon in 1393, and priest in 1397 He spoke of his own "oold dayes" in verse addressed to Abbot Curteys, who died in 1446 In a poem which he called his "Testament," where Lydgate wrote

John Lydgate

> "Witheynne my closet and in my litil couche,
> O blissid Jhesu! and by my beddys syde,
> That noon enmy nor no feend shall me touche
> The name of Jhesu with me shal ever abyde,"

he said

> "Age is crope in, callith me to my grave
> To make reknyng how I my time have spent,"

and proceeded to remembrances of misspent time, in the fourteen years of the spring-time of youth, when following

* This fact was first pointed out by Mr J O Halliwell on Lydgate's own authority (MS Harl 2251, fol 283), in the preface to his "Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate," published by the Percy Society in 1840.

the appetites of childhood, "weepyng for nouhte and anone affter glad, he preferred play to learning, and though "somtyme in awe to be scoured" (scourged) he was loth toward school He would be late at school, excuse himself with a lie,

> "Ranne into gardeyns, appels there I stall,
> To gather frutés sparéd hedge nor wall,
> To plucké grapes on other mennés vynes
> Was more redý than for to say mattynes"

He enjoyed jesting and scoffing, was readier to count cherry-stones than go to church, loth to go to bed in the evening or to get up of mornings, ready to come to dinner with unwashed hands, casting his Paternoster and Creed at the cook, and deaf to the warnings of his friends After a little more gravity in censure of the days of childishness, when an apple-orchard tempted him as it tempts also the young Lydgates of the day that is, the literary monk tells how he made his profession of religion, but went forward, like Lot's wife, often looking back Taught lowly bearing and restraint of looks, "of blessed Benet to folowe the doctryne," he heard all well from "vertuous men relygious and sadde," and took but little heed His black habit of religion was worn only outwardly He did not care to set his foot upon the ladder of the nine degrees of humility He preferred to holy stories good clear wine, and, as a reckless youth, was one with the first to take disport in the indulgence of the senses

Then, said the old poet, remembering in age those days of his youth, he saw on a cloister-wall a crucifix, beside which was written, "Behold my meekness, child, and leave thy pride" This word in his last age he understood, and so, taking his pen, he wrote the "little ditty" on the love of Christ, which, thus introduced, is called "John Lydgate's Testament" There then, again, we see, as we have seen in generation after generation, during the seven centuries

between Cædmon and Lydgate, and have yet to see, the best mind of our country striving Godward After a spiritual sketch of all that is represented on the crucifix, "thus endeth the Testament of John Lydgate, monke of Bery," in the last words of the voice that his soul hears from the Cross —

> "Tary no longer towarde thy herytage
> Haste on thy way, and be of right good chere,
> Go eche day onwarde on thy pylgremage,
> Thynke howe short tyme thou shalt abydé here.
>
> "Thy place is byld above the sterrés clere,
> None erthly palaes wrought so stately wyse
> Come on, my frende, my brother moost enteere!
> For the I offred my blode in sacrifyce"

Such was the spirit in which Lydgate recalled the light-hearted days of boyhood, and of early manhood, when he was among the youths ready as any comrade to enjoy the world and avoid irksome restraint

After studying at Oxford, Paris and Padua, and, after mastering with special delight the writings of such poets as Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier, Lydgate opened at his monastery of Bury St Edmunds a school of rhetoric, in which he taught young nobles literature and the art of versifying He was well read in the lore of the ancients—theologian, of course—and he was a mathematician and astronomer, as well as orator and poet John Lydgate was alive in 1446, when his age was at least seventy-six, for Professor Zupitza has pointed out a receipt in the Bodleian for £3 16s 8d, being the half of an annual pension of £7 13s 4d. payable half-yearly by the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, under the King's letters patent, to John Baret, Esquire, and John Lydgate, monk, of Bury St Edmunds, for their lives and for the life of the survivor The receipt is by John Baret for himself and Lydgate, dated the second

of October, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI * Critical Joseph Ritson,† who called Lydgate "voluminous, prosaic, and driveling," "stupid and disgusting," gave a list of two hundred and fifty-one works, or "elaborate drawlings," bearing his name

Dan (Dominus) John Lydgate was a bright, pleasant, and earnest monk, who wrote clear, fluent verse in any style then reputable, but who was most apt at the telling of such moral stories as his public liked Sometimes he was as prolix, and he always was as musical, as the old romancers who had been satirised by Chaucer in "Sir Thopas," but he preferred to take his heroes and heroines out of the Martyrology, and he could write cleverly to order, for the library of any monastery, the legend of its patron saint Since he wrote so much, and almost always as a story-teller, he found many readers, and his rhyming supplied some of the favourite tales of his time He turned into smooth English verse the tales of Troy and Thebes He elevated into an English poem the best of the Latin prose works of Boccaccio, which tells and moralises tale after tale of the mutations of affairs of men from Adam downward He sang the tale of St Alban, the English protomartyr, of St Edmund, and many a saint more He could catch the strain of popular song, and satirise the greed of money, which bars from the poor man the way to justice, as in his "London Lickpenny," whereof the measure is enlivened with the street-cries of his time He could tell again Fables of Æsop in Chaucer stanza, because old poets "in fables rude included great prudénce" ‡ He could write morality in the old court allegorical style, he could kneel at the foot

* *Anglia*, vol iii (1880), p 432

† "Bibliographia Poetica" (London), 1802, pp 66-87

‡ Lydgate's versions of seven of "Isopos Fabules" is given by Dr P Sauerstein from the Harleian MS 2251, in vol, ix of *Anglia* (1886)

of the Cross and offer to his God the sacrifice of a true outburst of such song as there was in him John Lydgate was not a poet of great genius, but he was a man with music in his life He was full of a harmony of something more than words, not more diffuse than his age liked him to be, and therefore, with good reason, popular and honoured among English readers in the fifteenth century

Minor Poems

Among the pieces in the selection from the minor poems of Lydgate which was formed by Mr Halliwell-Phillipps* as one of the volumes of the Percy Society, is one that celebrates with much minute detail the pageant of King Henry VI's entry into London after his coronation, another is of a philosopher's counsel to an old man who desired to marry a young wife, part whereof is—

> " Remembre wele on oldé January
> Which maister Chauceres ful seriously descryvethe
> And on fresshe May,"

and which includes a tale

> " Of Januaries brother and olde Decembre,
> And of dame July "

There is a balade on the forked head-dresses of the ladies,—but the balade no longer adheres, as it usually did in the time of Chaucer and Gower, to the appointed number of three stanzas and the four-line close, the refrain of this "dyté of womenhis hornÿs" is "Beauté wol shewe, though hornés were away" Another piece is a poetical application to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester for money, while Lydgate was translating into verse Boccaccio's "Falls of the

* "Minor Poems of John Lydgate" Percy Society, 1842 Mr James Orchard Halliwell, born in 1820, took the name of Halliwell-Phillipps in 1872, under a direction in the will of Thomas Phillipps, grandfather to his first wife, and died Halliwell-Phillipps in January, 1889.

Illustrious," at his command He tells the Duke that the bottom of his purse's empty stomach is so turned upside down that there is no leech or apothecary in Bury town who is able to cure it Another poem is a sketch of a young tosspot called Jack Hare Another is in ironical praise of the times, with the refrain to each stanza that all this is to show "how that the crabbe gothe forwarde" —

> "Iché man hathe ynoughe of richesse,
> Poré folk felé no grewaúnce,
> Pristhodé livethe in perfitenesse,
> And can in lytel have suffisaunce,
> Religyon hathe none áttendaúnce
> Unto the worlde, but al upwárde,
> To yeve example in substaunce,
> How that the crabbé gothe forwárde"

Another poem of the same kind has for refrain the suggestion that all is as straight as a ram's horn Even among Lydgate's short pieces, many are legends, tales, fables, and translated fabliaux, of which "The Churl and the Bird" is one of the most notable, others are animations of piety Lydgate's "Chorle and the Bird," afterwards printed by Caxton, was a fable taken, he says, from "a pamflete in Frensche," but this French was a version of the fable from the "Clerica Disciplinalis" of Petrus Alphonsus Another of Lydgate's rhymed fables, that of "The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose,"* was printed afterwards by Wynkyn de Worde Other of his pieces are rhymed counsels, as on the strength of moderation, and the old saying that Measure is Treasure, or the way to secure healthy strength

> "That is goodé that causithe no damáge,
> Honest disport that causithe none hyndrýng,

* "The Chorle and the Bird" was printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1818, "The Hors, the Shepe, and the Ghoos," for the same club in 1822

> Blessid of God is also that langáge
> That kepithe his tunge fro froward bakbytÿng ,
> And blessed is he that saithe wele of al thyng ,
> And blessid is he whiche in his poverté
> List thanké God, is voyde of all grucchyng,
> And doth no thyng but it in measure be "

One piece is entitled "Make Amendes ," the burden of another is "Thank God for All" Of some interest in connection with what has been said of Miracle Plays is a metrical description by Lydgate of the "Procession of Corpus Christi" Chaucer's warning to wives, at the end of the tale of Griselda, how they should be masterful with their husbands, "lest Chichevache you take," is illustrated by a poem of Lydgate's which sets forth the old popular mumming of Bycorne and Chichevache The poet having spoken a few lines, "than shal be portreyed two bestis, oon fatte, another leene" Bycorne is fat because he lives on patient husbands , Chichevache is lean because she feeds on patient wives The fatte beste called Bycorne saith

> "Of Bycornoys I am Bycorne,
> Ful fatte and rounde here as I stonde,
> And in mariage bounde and sworne
> To Chichevache, as hir husbonde,
> Which will nat eete, on see nor londe,
> But pacient wyfés debonayre,
> Whiche to her husbondes be nat contrayre
> Ful scarce, God wote ! is her vitaille,
> Humble wyfes she fynt so fewe "

After Bycorne hath said more to this effect, four men come and sing as destined for the maw of Bycorne "Then shall ther be a womman devoured in the mowthe of Chichevache," crying to all wives to take example by her fate

> "Be ye crabbéd, voydethe humylité,
> Or Chichevache ne wil nat faile
> Yow for to swolow in hire entraile "

Then Chichevache speaks, and tells how she feeds on women who are "liche Gresield in pacience" But

> "—it is more than thritty mayes,
> That I have sought from lond to lond,
> But yet oon Gresield never I fond "

The piece ends with the speaking of the man whose patient wife has been devoured Evidently it was written upon the suggestion of the closing lines of the Clerke's Tale, hardly more than thirty years old And in the main Lydgate upholds Chaucer's teaching of the worth of womanhood

A poem known as "The Complaint of the Black Knight," which was for some time included among the works of Chaucer, is distinctly given in Thomas Shirley's contemporary collections* as "The Complaynte of a Knight made by Lidegate," and Shirley also refers to it, in lines of his own, as a complaint

> "That daun Johan of Bury made,
> Lydgate the Munk clothed in blakké "

Lydgate wrote for King Henry V "The Life of our Lady," and, at request of the Chapter of St Paul's, a metrical translation of a Macaber "Dance of Death," to be inscribed under the several parts of a representation of it in the cloisters of their church

The "Dance of Macaber," or the "Dance of Death," once, probably, set forth by living actors in churches of France, was in the fifteenth century a common subject of religious painting and sculpture It usually appeared with appropriate texts or descriptive verses, illustrating each representation of Death as the leader of the dance of life with men of every degree In a Latin poem of the twelfth century, ascribed to Walter Map, there is

* Brit Mus, Additional MS 16,165

a series of lines in which men of different estates, beginning with the Pope and ending with the pauper, pass before the mind's eye in procession, each declaring that he is on his way to death It is called a "Lament for Death, and Counsel as to the Living God" The name "Macabre" probably arose from the association of this subject with a painting that illustrated a thirteenth-century legend of the lesson given by certain hideous spectres of Death to three noble youths when hunting in a forest They afterwards arrived at the cell of St Macarius, an Egyptian anchorite, who was shown in a painting by Andrew Orgagna presenting them with one hand a label of admonition on the vain glory of life, and with the other hand pointing to three open coffins In one coffin is a skeleton, in one a king A painting of a "Dance of Death" at Minden, in Westphalia, had for a traditional date 1383 Another, in the churchyard of the Innocents, at Paris, was certainly painted in 1434. One of the most famous was the "Dance of Death" at Basle, said to have been painted by order of the prelates who were at the Grand Council of Basle, between the years 1431 and 1433 *

* This was also wrongly ascribed to Hans Holbein It went its own way to death , its destruction was completed in 1805, and it is now known only by such copies as were made There were such paintings in England also , one was that, for which Lydgate wrote the inscriptions, in the cloister of Old St Paul's, pulled down in 1549, of which Sir Thomas More wrote, "If we not only hear this word Death, but also let it sink into our hearts, the very fantasy and deep imagination thereof, we shall perceive thereby that we were never so greatly moved by the beholding of the 'Dance of Death' pictured in St Paul's as we shall feel ourselves stirred and altered by the feeling of that imagination in our hearts" Although the evidence is not beyond all question, there is very little doubt that the "Dance of Death" shown in a series of woodcuts illustrating a volume published at Lyons in 1538 as "Les Simulachres et Historiées Faces de la Mort, autant elegamment pourtraictes que artificiellement imaginées," was from designs by Holbein

For Whethamstede, Abbot of St Albans, Lydgate rhymed the Latin legend of St Alban about the year 1430, and was paid for translating, writing, and illuminating, a hundred shillings (in present value, say, seventy pounds) for a book that, when received, was placed before the altar of the saint The volume of his poems in honour of Edmund the patron saint of his own monastery of Bury, the "precious charbuncle of martirs alle," was adorned not only with illuminated letters, but with one hundred and twenty illustrative pictures drawn with extreme care, two portraits of King Henry VI (who had kept Christmas, 1433, in the monastery of Bury, and was made a brother of the Chapter), one of William Curteis, Abbot of Bury, and one of Lydgate himself, kneeling at St Edmund's shrine *

Of the larger works of Lydgate, which have been in chief repute, the most important, for the literary influence we shall afterwards find it exerting, is his version of a French version of Boccaccio's best Latin book, that on the "Falls of Illustrious Men" (and Women)

"Falls of Princes"

Of Boccaccio's nine books, "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium," which, perhaps, suggested the plan of the Tragedies in the Monk's Tale of Chaucer, the first begins with Adam and Eve, followed by a chapter on Disobedience, then tells of Nimrod, followed by a chapter upon Pride, then proceeds to Saturn, Cadmus, Jocasta, Thyestes, Atreus and Theseus, upon whom follows a chapter upon sudden over-credulity Then comes a group of the sorrowing, who pass by in one brief chapter, next is the tale of Priam and Hector, after that a short chapter against the proud The story of Agamemnon comes next, followed by the praise of poverty Then, in a short chapter, a multitude of those who weep, these, like others who came before and others who follow, are represented as appearing to the poet with

* MSS Harl 2,278

their sad succession of complaints The next in the line of the illustrious who fell is Samson, whose story is followed by a rather long chapter upon women Two groups of wretched and unhappy ones then close the first book Book II begins with Saul, and, appending now and then to some sketch of a life a chapter of moralities deduced from it, now and then also suggesting the abundance of material by an interpolated chapter of "Adventus Flentium," "Infelices quidem," "Quarelæ quorundam," "Dejecti aliqui," "Dolentium concursus," "Grandis infelicium turba"—a plan pursued throughout the work with admirable artistic effect—Boccaccio proceeds from the story of Saul to the stories (in Book II) of Rehoboam, Athaliah, Dido, Sardanapalus, Amaziah, Zedekiah, Metius Suffetius King of the Albans, (in Book III) Tarquinius Superbus, Xerxes, Appius Claudius, Alcibiades, Hanno, Artaxerxes, (in Book IV) Manlius Capitolinus, Dionysius of Syracuse, Polycrates, Callisthenes, Alexander of Epirus, Darius, Eumenes of Cappadocia, Olympia of Macedon, Agathocles, Pyrrhus of Epirus, Arsinoe, (in Book V) Seleucus and Antiochus, Regulus, Syphax of Numidia, Antiochus the Great, Hannibal, Prusias King of Bithynia, Perseus King of Macedon, Pseudo-Philip of Macedon, Alexander Balaus of Syria, Demetrius King of Syria, Alexander Zebina, Jugurtha In Book VI, which opens with a colloquy between Fortune and the author, Marius, the three Miseries of Cleopatra, Mithridates, Orodes King of Parthia, Pompey the Great, Cicero, Mark Antony In Book VII are Herod King of the Jews, Tiberius, Caligula and Messalina, Nero, Vitellius, the Fall of Jerusalem Book VIII opens with Boccaccio sleeping indolently and tempted to the pleasures of life, but incited to worthy labour by a vision of his best and venerated teacher, Francis Petrarch "Fame," said that famous lover of the laurel, "is for God's own sake to be sought with all one's strength," Boccaccio, therefore, collected

himself, and, considering in what ways the insipid are damned, cast off his own detestable desire of ease, and resumed the old work of his pen After a group of wretched Emperors has passed, he sees and tells of Valerianus, Sapor King of Persia, Zenobia, Diocletian, Galerius Maximianus, Julian the apostate, Rhadagasus King of the Goths, Odoacer of Italy, Arthur of Britain, Rosmunda The ninth and last book tells of Brunehild Queen of the Franks, of Duchess Romilda, Desiderius King of the Lombards, Pope John XII, Diogenes Romanus, Andronicus of Constantinople, Henry VI, son of Barbarossa, Charles of Sicily, with the story of Manfred and Conradin, James Master of the Templars, and the suppression of the Order of the Templars, Walter Duke of Athens, and John of France, taken prisoner at Poitiers The book closes with a few weepers and a plea for indulgence, especially Boccaccio's wish that laureate Petrarch, his teacher, distinguished alike for morality and learning, will excuse and amend its errors, finally, that the proud who sit in high places will open their eyes and ears

Lydgate says that he translates Boccaccio through the version of a Frenchman, Laurent—that is, Laurent de Premierfait, in the diocese of Troyes, an ecclesiastic among whose translations was one of the "Decameron" for Jeanne Queen of Navarre Laurent began his translation of the "Falls of Princes" when the French king, John, was brought a prisoner to England After describing the purpose and use of the book, and his intent to represent it truthfully, Lydgate cries—

> "My maister Chaucer with his fressh comedies
> Is deed alas, chefe poete of Bretayne,
> That sometyme made full pitous tragedies,
> The fall of Princes he dyde also complayne,
> As he that was of making soverayne,
> Whom all this lande of right oughté preferre,
> Sithe of our langage he was the lode sterre"

This refers to the Monk's Tale, wherein Chaucer recited tragedies chiefly suggested by the book which we shall find hereafter giving some impulse even to our early drama Presently Lydgate turns from Seneca and Bochas—Boccaccio—again to his maister, Chaucer, who in his days hath him so well borne

> "Out of our tonge tauoyede * all rudenesse,
> And to reforme 't with colours of sweetnesse,
> Wheréfore let us gyve him laude and glory,
> And put his name with poetes in memóry "

Then follows the recitation of Chaucer's works to which reference has already been made, and

> "For whiche men shuld of right and equyté
> Syth he in Englysshe in makyng was the best
> Pray unto God to yeve his soule good rest "

In the epilogue to the translation, which does fair justice to the poetical design of the original, Lydgate names the patron for whom it was written, and to whom we have seen him applying for money during its progress

> "Duke of Gloucester men this princé call,
> And notwithstandyng state and dignité
> His couragé never it doth appall
> To study in bokés of antiquité,
> Therin he hath so great felicite
> Vertuously him selfe to occupy,
> Of vycious slouth he hath the mastery,
> And with his prudence and with his manhede
> Truth to susteyne he favour setteth a syde,"

a defender of Holy Church and a chastiser of all traitors to her. He studyeth ever to have intellygence, redynge of bokes, and among books

> "The noble boke of this John Bochas
> Was accordyng in his opinion

* To avoid, to put away

Of great noblesse and reputacion,
And unto princes greatly necessary
To yeve example how this world doth vary "

It has lost none of its nobleness in Lydgate's version Both in plan and substance this prose work of Boccaccio's was peculiarly well suited for treatment in verse, and we shall find in Queen Elizabeth's time Lydgate's "Falls of Princes" a work with a living influence Lydgate interspersed occasional prologues and balades of his own while he retold the stories, not as a mere rhyming translator, but as a man who had an honest gift of song and felt their poetry There passes through the reader's mind a funeral pomp of men who have been carried high on Fortune's wheel, and then been bruised to death by its descending stroke The poem warns the mighty to be humble and the lowly to be well content—

" Who clymbeth highest on Fortuné's whele,
And sodaynly to rychesses dothe ascende,
An unware turne, afore sene never a dele,
When he leest weneth maketh hem discende
Fro suché chaunges who may him defende
But they that be with pouert nat dismayde
And can with lytell hold themselfe apayde "

That is the measure and the spirit of the poem The measure, it will be observed, is Troilus verse, or Chaucer's stanza, that which Chaucer used in the "Assembly of Foules," in "Troilus and Cressida," in the Man of Law's Tale, and the Clerk's Tale of Griselda This seven-lined stanza of heroic verse, with its odd line in the middle, where it stands as the last of a quatrain of alternate rhyme and first of a pair of couplets, was throughout the fifteenth century the favourite measure of our poets We shall presently see how it came by its less fit name of " rhyme royal "

The " Storie of Thebes " is told by Lydgate as another

Canterbury Tale * After a sickness he went in a black cope "on palfrey slender, long and lene," with rusty bridle, and his man before him carrying an empty pack, to the shrine at Canterbury, and by accident put up there at the inn where Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled There he saw the host of the Tabard, who thought him lean for a monk, promised him a large pudding, prescribed nut-brown ale after supper with anise, cummin, or coriander seed, at bed-time But the best medicine is cheerful company So Dan John supped with the pilgrims, went home with them next day, and contributed for his story the tale of the tragic end of Thebes, making a pause in it when, at nine in the morning, they went down the steep hill at Boughton under Blean The story is that of the Thebaid of Statius, as it had been manipulated by romancers of the middle ages

"Storie of Thebes"

The Storie of Thebes

is in three books and between four and five thousand lines The poem begins with Laius and Jocasta, his wife, and tells how Saturn was in the Scorpion and Mars in Capricorn when Œdipus was born It goes on with the tale of Œdipus and of the Sphinx, tells how Cerberus, Erebus, and all the ills of the world, were at the wedding of Œdipus with his unknown mother Jocasta, how their sons Eteocles and Polynices were born while they were happy, and how Fortune turned her wheel, and "a tragedie of morall Senek" tells the end That first part of the story closes with lines upon the duty of reverence to father and mother, in which point Eteocles and Polynices were to blame, as will be told when, says the companion of the pilgrims, we are down this hill and are in the valley Then, says Lydgate,

> "Passéd the thorpe of Boughton on the Blee,
> By my kalendar I gan anon to see
> Through the sonné that full cleré gan shine,
> Of the clocké that it drew nere to nine,"

* First printed by John Stow, in his edition of Chaucer's works, published in 1561

he saw the dew rise in soft morning air, and with the pilgrims about him went on to tell of debate for the crown of Thebes, between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices, how they were brought to consent that they should reign in alternate years, and how in the first year of the reign of Eteocles Polynices went to Adrastus King of Argos, who had then a boding dream of a wild boar and a fierce lion It tells how the knight Tydeus, son to the King of Calydon, who had fled to Argos, at first tilted with Polynices for his lodging, then became his friend, and how Adrastus married his two daughters to these knights Of which things the tidings reached to Thebes, where Eteocles was at unrest because of his brother's strength by that alliance And Eteocles took counsel, and there were three kinds of counsellers, some faithful and true, some that can change of new, and other eke that were between the twain, that covertly could under colour feign. This brings in a commendation of truth, which tells how in the Book of Esdras truth is preferred before kings, women and wine The year of Eteocles being out, the poem tells how Tydeus went to Thebes on behalf of Polynices, how boldly he did his errand, and what answer Eteocles made, how Tydeus answered again, and how ambush was laid for the slaying of Tydeus on his way back It tells how Tydeus escaped by his courage—a story told also in the sixth book of Barbour's "Bruce"—and how he showed that against truth false hood has little might It tells how Tydeus came by moonlight to a castle in the land of Lycurgus, and went, wounded, into the garden, where a fair lady found him sleeping, how she cared for him, and how he was refreshed in the castle of the lady, and how Eteocles was sorely affronted at the killing of his men, who, according to old rites, were burnt and buried

> "Loo here the kalendes of adversité,
> Sorowe upon sorowe, and destruccion
> First of the king, and al the regioun,
> For lacke onely, like as I have you tolde
> That behestés truly weré not holde *

The Third Part of Lydgate's "Storie of Thebes" opens with address to "cruel Mars, full of melencolie," asks what was the cause of his wrath against them of Thebes, and goes on to tell the story of the Seven against Thebes The large support given to Adrastus suggests to the poet a discourse upon the gain to a king who deals truly and liberally with his people, upon the love that is more to a king than

* That promises were not truly kept

riches Gold may fail, but love will abide for life or death The treasure of a king standeth in love, and farewell lordship when love takes his leave The Bishop Amphiorax prophesied, that is Amphiaraus, his wife disclosed his place of concealment, but Adrastus would not take his counsel and withhold his purpose, wherein says Lydgate, we may consider

> "Howe that youth no peril cast aforne
> Till he in mischief sodenly be lorne;
> Thereas agé provideth every thing
> Ere he begin to casten the ending,"

how Age and Youth be of diverse opinions, and Wisdom availeth little where none heed

The Greeks being distressed by want of water, Tydeus went again to the lady in the garden, and she brought him to a fair well and an abounding river Tydeus brought to it all the Greeks, of whom some died by excess in slaking thirst, and he presented to Adrastus and the Greeks that lady whose name was Ipsiphile, and who told that she had left her land because the women there had plotted to kill fathers, husbands, sons, and all the men, that women alone might have dominion She had escaped with her father, whom she saved, had been taken by pirates and brought to Lycurgus, who gave her the care of his young child that had been left in the garden when she showed Tydeus the way to the stream Who would know more of her, let him read the book of Bochas upon Women Tydeus took the lady back into the garden, where she found that the child had been killed by a serpent Adrastus and the kings with him rode to Lycurgus, and prayed for the life of Ipsiphile Distress was great, at least the ser pent must be killed, and he was killed by Parthenopæus This comes from the fifth book of the Thebaid of Statius Here the poet touches the history of Lycurgus and the genealogies of the gods as told by Boccaccio,

> "Madé by Bochas, de Certaldo called,
> Among poetés in Itaillé stalled
> Next Frauncеis Petrake"

Then follow the foray of the Greeks round Thebes, divisions within the city, the words of the worthy Queen Jocasta unto Eteocles, the treaty that Eteocles sent unto his brother, the knightly answer of worthy Tydeus, of a tame tiger dwelling in Thebes, how the Bishop Amphiorax fell down into hell, as in Book VIII of Statius, how Tydeus was slain, how the Theban brethren slew each other even before the city, all of royal blood on both sides were slain in one day, and

all the ladies of Greece arrayed in black "as my maister Chaucer list to endite," and with faces dead and pale, went from Argos toward Thebes weeping Lydgate then tells how Creon would not allow the bodies of their dead to be either burnt or buried, but of the grace these ladies found when they met Theseus, if ȝe list to see,

> " And how he hath hem borne
> If ȝe remember, as ȝe have herde toforne
> Well rehearsèd at Deptford in the vale
> In the beginning of the Knightè's tale "

What was then told of Theseus is repeated in summary, it is added that Thebes was destroyed four hundred years before the foundation of Rome, and that war first began in Heaven with the pride of Lucifer Let us pray God and the Virgin

> " To send us peace in this life here presént
> And of our sinnes parfite amendément,
> And joy eternall when we hennés wend,
> And of my talé this I make an end "

The "Troy Book"

Lydgate's "Troy Book" is a metrical version from a French translation of the "Historia Trojana" of Guido delle Colonne, a Sicilian poet and lawyer of Messina who came to England in 1287 with Edward I, when he returned from his war in Asia His Trojan history was a version of that ascribed to the Trojan Dares, a priest of Vulcan* who was said to have warned Hector not to kill Patroclus, and after he had passed over to the Greeks was himself killed by Ulysses It set forth battle after battle with details that are only saved from being dry by the great quantity of blood spilt over them At the end of the war " Dares " says that the Greeks had lost in the siege of Troy 886,000 men, the Trojans 676,000 A "Phrygian Iliad" of Dares existed in the time of Ælian (A D 230). It was said to be older than Homer's The Latin prose history of the Fall of Troy by Dares the Phrygian, was preceded

* The name Dares thus occurs in the fifth book of the "Iliad," line 9 "ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων, ἱρεὺς Ἡφαίστοιο "

by a letter professing to be from Cornelius Nepos to Crispus Sallustius, telling him that he had translated it from the Greek autograph found at Athens. Manuscripts of Dares the Phrygian's "De excidio Troiæ Historia" are numerous, and some are as old as the tenth, or even the ninth, century. It was usually associated with the six books of a history of the Trojan war, from the birth of Paris to the death of Ulysses, composed, it was said, by Dictys of Gnossus, the companion of Idomeneus, at the request of Idomeneus and Merion, written on tablets of bark in Phœnician characters, buried with him in a leaden box, and disclosed by an earthquake in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, who caused it to be translated into Greek. Out of the Greek, one Q. Septimius Romanus was then supposed to have translated Dictys into Latin. Dictys and Dares were both cited in the time of Ælian. From these legends, attributed to Dictys and Dares, not from Homer, the mediæval story tellers got their fables of the Trojan war.

For France, in the time of our Henry II., the Anglo-Norman Benoît de St. More rhymed and amplified the story of Dares in eight-syllabled verse, adding, among other things, the germ of the tale of "Troilus and Cressida."*

* Dr. Gustav Koerting in his "Dictys und Dares, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Troja-Sage in ihrem Uebergange aus der antiken in die romantische Form" (Halle, 1874), makes it his chief purpose to argue that Benoît de St. More derived his poem from a much ampler edition of Dares, extant in Benoît's time, which contained the incidents and details that are not to be found in what he takes to be the epitome which has come down to us. His argument includes reasoning against the belief that the Latin Dares which has come down to us is the original book, which was first written in Latin. A Roman, it is suggested, would have been so far influenced by Virgil that he could not have represented Æneas as a traitor, or even called himself Dares, when the fifth book of the "Æneid" would be more familiar to him than the fifth book of the "Iliad," and he would remember there the Trojan Dares, vanquished in a prize fight with Entellus, retiring from

This French "Roman de Troie" was translated even into Greek. It chiefly followed Dares, and the Latin prose romance, or "Historia Trojana" of Guido delle Colonne, followed the "Roman de Troie," of which its editor* has shown the date to be within the ten years from 1175 to 1185. The Sicilians, Guido and Odo delle Colonne, belong to the first days of Italian poetry, and Guido's Latin version of the French romance of Troy was finished, as he himself says at the end of it, in the year 1287. All later Troy poems were formed from one or both of these originals, Benoît de St. More's French metrical "Roman de Troie," or the Latin prose, "Historia Destructionis Troie" of Guido delle Colonne.

Other "Troy Books."

Attention was called in 1866 by the Cambridge University Librarian to a "Troy Book" other than Lydgate's, which was ascribed to John Barbour, the author of "The Brus."† A manuscript of Lydgate's "Troy Book" in the Cambridge University Library,‡ which has lost the first ten leaves, has on its leaf 19 (now 9), after the lines—

> "That þar was neuir nane hyr lyk
> No neuir sall be, pure no ryk,"

the rubric, "Here endis Barbour and begynnis þe monk." The rest is Lydgate's translation, except a long passage at

the field with bleeding mouth "mixtosque in sanguine dentes." Dr. Koerting argues also for a Greek original of Dictys, and attempts to prove it by internal evidence.

* A. Joly, "Benoît de Sainte More et le Roman de Troie ou les métamorphoses d'Homère et de l'épopée gréco latine au moyen âge." 2 vols. Paris, 1870, 1871. The first volume contains dissertation and the second text.

† "On two hitherto unknown Poems by John Barbour, author of 'The Brus.' Communicated by Henry Bradshaw." Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for 1866.

‡ MS. Kk., v. 30.

the end introduced by the rubric, "Here endis the monk and bygynnis Barbour" The latter of these two fragments, with continuation through 1,556 more lines, is given also in a MS in the Bodleian * Here, it was thought,† we had parts of an otherwise lost version of the siege of Troy, by John Barbour the Archdeacon But, as it has been argued, with apparent truth, that these fragments are wanting in characteristics of style, phrase, vocabulary, method of alliteration found in "The Brus," ‡ we may, perhaps, be right in supposing that the copyist ascribed in error to the authorship of Barbour passages that he observed to have been taken from a northern version, written, like "The Brus," in eight-syllabled verse. The unique copy of another northern version of the Latin "Troy Book" of Guido delle Colonne is among the MSS of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow This has been edited for the Early English Text Society, § as the "Gest Hystoriale" of the destruction of Troy, with a questionable suggestion that it was written by the poet Huchowne, of whom more hereafter ||

* MS Douce, 148 † "E W" vi 44

‡ By the paper of Emil Koeppelon, "Die Fragmente von Barbour's Trojanerkrieg," in *Englische Studien*, vol x (1887), pp 373—382

§ "The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy an Alliterative Romance translated from Guido de Colonna's 'Hystoria Troiana' Now first edited from the unique MS in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by the late Rev. George A Panton and David Donaldson, Esq" Published for the Early English Text Society, 1869 and 1874

|| The following are the early editions of Lydgate —Lydgate's "Troy Book," or "Hystory, Sege, and Destruccyon of Troye," was first printed by Richard Pynson, in 1513 Of this edition only four copies are known It was reprinted more accurately, also in folio, by Thomas Marshe, in 1555 In 1614 a modernised version was published in a third folio, with a change of the heroic metre into six-line stanzas, and of the title to the "Life and Death of Hector" This has been cited by Fuller and others as a genuine work of Lydgate's, but is generally ascribed to Thomas

Lydgate's contemporary, Thomas Occleve, was born about the year 1370 We may suppose that he took his name from his birthplace, and was born in Bedfordshire, in the small parish of Hockliffe, about five miles from Dunstable The only alternative would be Ockley, in Surrey. The old confusion with the aspirate has caused the name to be written both "Hoccleve" and "Occleve" But in a copy of "The Governail of Princes," which the poet wrote with his own hand, the name occurs in the text, and is written "Occleve" Another day he might have written "Hoccleve," and he may have done so in his own draft of the first line of his that will presently be quoted But the name is Occleve in the only place where we are sure, or nearly sure, that he himself has written it He knew Chaucer, and evidently refers to a personal relation between them when he speaks of himself as Chaucer's

Thomas Occleve

Heywood The Story of Thebes—the additional Canterbury tale—was printed as Lydgate's in Stow's edition of Chaucer, that of 1561 Wynkyn de Worde printed Lydgate's "Lytel Treatise of the Horse, the Shepe, and the Goos" "The Chorle and the Byrde" was not only printed at Westminster in Caxton's house by Wynkyn de Worde, but reprinted with ten additional stanzas in Ashmole's "Theatrum Chemicum" as "Hermes' Bird," Ashmole supposing that it had been written by Raymond Lully, or at least translated into English by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, Lully's scholar Caxton printed Lydgate's system of Divinity, taken from the French, with its historical examples, apologues, and parables, "The Werke of Sapience." He printed also Lydgate's "Lyf of our Lady" Wynkyn de Worde printed the "Prouerbes" of Lydgate, also his "Temple of Glass," and his rhymed "Cronycle of all the Kynges Names that have regned in Englande syth the Conquest of Wyllam Conquerour And sheweth the Dayes of theyr Coronacyon and of theyr Byrthe" This is printed in a single sheet The "Boke called de John Bochas descriuinge the Falle of Princess, Princissis, and other Nobles, translated into Englissh by John Lydgate," was first printed in folio by Richard Pynson in 1494, new editions of it were issued by Pynson in 1527, by R Tottel in 1554, and by John Wayland in 1558, all folios

disciple In his earlier days he lived in the Strand at Chester's Inn, one of the buildings pulled down for the site of Somerset House We know Occleve tolerably well through his chief poem, for the long original introduction to his version of the "De Regimine Principum" consists wholly of moral reflection on the manners of his time, interspersed with references to his own position in a government office as clerk of the Privy Seal A volume of Occleve's minor poems* was printed by George Mason in 1796, from a MS bought in 1785 at the auction of Dr Askew's MSS Among the poems in this MS is one of reasoning with Lord Cobham against his Lollardy, there are lines to the Virgin, there is a poetical petition to Under-Treasurer Somer from Occleve and three other clerks in his office, who ask for their salaries—

> "We your servantés, Hoccleve and Baillay,
> Hethe and Offorde, yow byseeche and preye,
> Hastith our harvest as soone as ye may,
> For fere of stormés our wit is aweye
> Were our seed innéd, wel we mighten pleye
> And us desporte, and synge and maké game"

A poem in this collection, entitled "La Male Regle de T Hoccleve," is a lively caution against youthful excesses, in which the poet represents himself as having been a waster of his days

> "Wher was a gretter maister eek than y
> Or bet acqueynted at Westmynstir yate,
> Among the tavernerés namély,
> And cookés? when I cam, eerly or late,
> I pynchéd nat at hem in myn acate,†
> But paiéd hem al that they axé wolde,

* "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed selected from a MS in the possession of George Mason With a Preface, Notes, and Glossary" London, 1796

† *Acate*, buying, *acheter*

Wherfore I was the welcomer algate,
And for a veiray gentil man yholde

"And if it happid on the somere's day,
That I thus at the taverne haddé be,
When I departe sholde, and go my way
Hoom to the privee seel, so wowéd me
Hete and unlust and superfluitee
To walke unto the brigge and take a boot,
That nat durste I contrarie hem all thiee,
But dide all that they stiréd me, God woot

"And in the wynter, for the way was deep,
Unto the brigge I dressid me also,
And ther the bootmen took upon me keep,
For they my riot kneewen fern ago
With hem I was ytuggid to and fro,
So wel was him that I with woldé fare
For riot paieth largely evere mo,
He styntith never, til his purs be bare"

The moral purpose of the poem doubtless led to a half-artistic exaggeration of self-censure Our best insight into Occleve's life and character is to be had through the long introductory part of his version, in Chaucer stanza, of the

De Regimine Principum

In the original introduction to this new version of "The Governail of Princes," he says

"Musyng upone the restles besynesse
The whiche this troubly world hath ay on honde
That other thyng than fruyte of bitternesse
Ne yildeth not, as I kan understonde,
At Chestres Inne right fasté by the Stronde,
As I lay in my bedde upon a nyght,
Thought me bireft of slepe the force and myght"

He got up and walked into the fields, where, thinking of the insecurity of wealth and of the heaviness bred by poverty, of which one can have a secure possession, he met a poor old hoary man, whose greeting, for sickly distress of thought, he did not answer But the

old man called to him, "Sleepest thou, man? Awake!" and shook him till he answered at last with a sigh, bidding him go and not increase his grief The old man bade him talk with him, if he wished ease of his sorrow Was he lettered?—Yea, somewhat —Blessed be God Lettered folk could hear reason, and so "plukke up thyne hert, I hope I shalle thee cure"—Cure, good man? cure yourself that tremble as you go You are as full of clap as a mill You annoy me more than you think It must be a stronger man than you that shall relieve me — But, my son, said the old man, it will not hurt you to listen —Peter! good man, you may talk here till evening, but all is in vain, such is my pain of encumbrous thought —Take counsel and it will mend

> "Woe be to hym that luste to be alone
> For yf he fallé, helpé hath he none
> To rise"

He must listen, and first let him tell his grievance Is it the care of abundance, or the care of poverty, or is he a tormented lover? Say on You see the beggar is relieved every day, because he shows himself, if he kept close and held his peace he might sit all the day helpless

> "Some man for lakke of occupacioún
> Musethe ferther than his witte may streeche,
> And all thurghe the fendés instigacioún,
> Dampnable erroure holdethe, and kan not lesche
> For counseillé ne rede, as did a wrecche
> Not long agoo, which that for heresye
> Convict and brent was unto asshen drye
>
> * * * * *
>
> My lord the prynce, God him save and blesse!
> Was at his dedely castigacioun,
> And of his soulé hade grete tendirenesse,
> Thurstyng soré for his salvacioun"

That is to say, when John Badby, blacksmith or tailor, was brought to the stake, and a barrel was prepared in which to burn him, Henry, then Prince of Wales, spoke to him kindly, and urged recantation; Badby, remaining firm, was put into the barrel, and the burning fuel was heaped round it The Prince, moved by his cries of agony, caused the fuel to be cleared from around him, and again, when he was half dead, spoke to him, offering to procure pardon and even a pension. Badby remained firm; the Prince, with some anger, ordered the fuel to

be heaped round him again, and he was burned to ashes as a hopeless heretic.

After having given six stanzas to the burning of John Badby, Occleve makes his old man, in a seventh stanza, say that it is for divines to inquire what has become of the heretic's soul, he knows not,

> "But woldé God the Cristés foes ech one
> That as he heldé were yservéd so,
> For I am suré there ben many mo."

When the old man has preached more upon the sin of heresy, Occleve answers that this is not his trouble, he believes in the sacrament of the altar, and, in spite of the fiend, in all the articles of faith. That rejoices the old man. And now let him not be despised for his weed: great virtue reigneth oft under an old poor habit. Rich dress is fit for worthy men, but it is ill with men who, if they pay for it, spend all they have upon a gown of scarlet twelve yards wide, with pendent sleeves down on the ground, and the fur set therein worth twenty pounds or more. There is no telling from afar, by their dress, a lord from a commoner. "O! lordes, it sitté yow amendé this!" By my life there goes no less than a yard of broadcloth into a man's tippet. Let every lord forbid his men such great array. What is a lord without his attendance?

> "I putté caas his foés hym assaile
> Sodeinly in the strete, what helpe shalle he
> Whos slevés encombroús so sidé trayle
> Do to his lord? He may him not availe.
> In such a caas he is but a womman,
> He may not stonde hym in stede of a man.
> His armes two han nigh ynoughe to done,
> And somewhat more, his slevés up to holde."

The tailors soon will have to go into the fields to shape, and spread, and fold: their boards will be too narrow for the cloth that shall be worked into a gown; the skinner, too, will have to go into the fields, his house in London being too small for his trade. There is more from the old man on this head. "In oldé time" things were not so. Duke John of Lancaster had not his garments too wide, and yet they became him wonderfully well. If there were now less waste in clothes, virtues would walk more thick among the people.

> "Now have thise lordes but litelle nede of bromes
> To sweepe away the filthe out of the strete,

> Sith sidé slevés of penýlees groomes
> Wole it up likké, be it drye or wete "

Truth and cleanness in lords' courts have little honour if they come in narrow clothes But, said the old man, though my clothes are narrow, good son, have of me no disdain Then he turned from his poverty to his age, and moralised at length upon age and youth, painting the riot of youth, not without living touches that illustrate customs of the time The poet answered that he did not contemn his poverty or age, but he did not think him able to ease his vexed mind. Already, however, he had been eased and comforted by his wise counsel, and he would seek further relief of him. Tell me, said the old man—but first, where dwellest thou?

> " In the office of the privé-seel I wone
> To writé there it is custúme and wone,
> Unto the seel, and havé twenty yere
> And fouré come Estrén, and that is nere "

The king, he went on to tell, was gracious enough to him, and had given him an annuity for life of twenty marks. If that were paid, it would stand well enough with him,

> " But paiément is harde to gete now adayes,
> And that me putte in many foule affrayes "

If he cannot be sure of his annuity, how shall he be able to live when he serves no longer If now in his green age, and being in court, he hardly, with great pains, obtains payment, when he is old and out of court his purse may be no more than a sheath for a farthing

> " Loo, fader myne, this dullethe me to dethe,
> Now God helpe alle, for but yf he me socoure,
> My future yerés ben like to be soure "

Service is no heritage, and when he can work no more he may suffer the storm after the merry tide Then he himself proceeds to moralise on the world's mutability, bids the young honour their elders, knighthood awake and help his brother, the prosperous remember that they stand on ice. He fears in his own future the slipperiness of the world's friendship

> " In feithé, fader, my livélode beside
> The annuitee of whiche I above tolde

May not excedé yerly in no tide
Six mark "

* * * * *

" Sixe mark yerely, and no more but that,
Fadir, to me me thynkethe is fulle lite,
Consideryng how that I am nat
In husbondrie not lernede worthe a myte,
Scarsly knowe I to chare away the kyte "

Stooping to write has spoilt his back for lading carts or filling barrows Writing is work that needs mind, eye, and hand. Artificers can talk or sing over their work,

" But we laboûren in travaillous stilnesse.
We stoupe and stare upon the shepés skyn
And kepé most our songe and our wordes in "

Writing also annoys greatly the stomach, the back, and the eyes

" What man that twenty yere and more
In writyng hath contynuede, as have I,
I dar wele sey it smerteth hym fulle sore
In every veyne and place of his bodý "

That is the poet's cause of grief Is it all? asks the old man —All —The grief then is fear of poverty " For shame ! why makest thou all this wo ?" Then follows praise of poverty, with reference first to the life of our Saviour, then to philosophy that tells how securely the poor man may sleep of nights with his door unbolted

A king of Sicily was always served on earthen vessels that he might not forget he was a potter's son Scipio Africanus left not enough to pay for his burial Solomon prayed that he might have neither riches nor poverty, and in that mean the old man held Occleve to stand, for he could feed and clothe himself upon six marks a year Yes, he said, but he was not perfect enough to take it so Let him be patient then St Ambrose quitted the company of a man who never had been unfortunate, lest he should take part in the coming vengeance, and soon afterwards the fortunate man with all his house was swallowed by an earthquake (A churchman's recasting of the story of Polycrates) Churchmen gape after fat benefices Nowadays one church may not suffice to one man

" But algate he mote have pluralitee
Ellés he kan not lyven in no wise.

> Ententyfly he kepethe his servise
> In court, ther his labour shallé not moule,
> But to his curé loketh he fulle foule "
>
> " Thoughe that his chauncelle roof be alle to torne
> And on the hye awteré reyne or snewe,
> He rekketh not, the cost may be forborne
> Cristés hous to repaire or maké newe,
> And though ther be full many a viscious hewe
> Under his cure, he taketh of it no kepe
> He rekketh not how rusty ben his shepe "

He is loth to dispend "the oynément of holy sermoning" But the poet says the time is past for him to be a priest, as he once thought to have been "Then," he is asked, "art thou a wedded man, percaas?"

> " Ye, sothely, fader myne, right so I am
> I gaséd longé first, and waitede faste
> After some benefice, and whan none cam,
> By processe I wedded me atté laste,
> And God it wote it soré me agaste
> To byndé me where I was at my large;
> But done it was, I take on me the charge '

That is the trouble you spoke of?—Yea —Then you shall do well enough, said the wise man God knows every man's intent, and "he for thy best a wyfe unto thee sent" If you had been a priest you would have been like the rest Thank God that you are as you are The orders of priesthood and of wedlock are both virtuous The poet is asked whether his fellows at home have any helper Yea, they have a good friend called Nemo, and this leads to comment on the injustice of the lords to whom the poor make suit, and how the lords' men take bribes and intercept the payments of the office clerks The poet, asked wherefore he took a wife, replies, " Onely for love I chees hir to my mate " This raises the question, What is love? and censure of the views of the day against high honour due to marriage. The argument returns to the unpaid annuity Does not my lord the prince know of you? asks the old man "Yis, fader, he is my goode gracious lorde" Complain to him then, in Latin or French You of the Privy Seal are well practised in them —Yet, father, of them full small is my taste —Then you have wasted your time,

" What shalle I callé the? What is thy name?
'Occlevé, fader myne, men callen me'
'Occlevé, sone?' 'Ywis, fader, the same'
'Sone, I have herde or this men speke of the,
Thow were acqueynted with Chaucèrs pardé?'
'God save his soulé! best of ony wight'
'Sone, I wole holde thee that I have thee hight

'Althoughe thou sey thou nouther in Latyne
Ne in Frensshe canst but smalle endite,
In Englisshe tungé thou canst wele afyne'—
'Truly therof kan I but a lyte' "—

Then write to your Prince in English, said the old man, "write to hym no thyng that sownethe to vice" Since he is your good lord speak humbly to him as his good servant.—Father, I assent, with heart trembling as the aspen leaf

" But wele away! so is myne herté wo,
That the honoúr of Englisshe tonge is dede,
Of whiche I was wonte have counseile and rede!

O, maister dere and fader reverent,
My Maister Chaucers, floure of eloquence,
Mirrour of fructuous entendément!
O, universal fader in science,
Allas! that thou thyne excellent prudénce
In thy bedde mortalle myghtest not bequethé,
What eyléd dethe, allas! why would he sle the?

O dethe, thou didest not harme singulere
In slaughtre of hym, but all this londe it smertethe!
But nathéles yit hast thow no powere
His name to slee, his hye vertu astertethe
Unslayne fro the, which aye us lyfly hertethe,
With bookés of his ornat éndityng,
That is to alle this lande enlumynyng

Hast thou not eké maister Gower slayn,
Whose vertu I am insufficient
For to discrive, I wote wele in certayn?"

The old man presently bade the young poet go home to his meat, and not forget what he had said Occleve in vain asked the old man to dine

with him But he was to be found every day at Carmes mass, about seven o'clock So the poet went home alone to his meal, and on the morrow he took pen and ink and parchment, and took courage to write to his lord the prince

Then follows, as the rest of the poem, the treatise "De Regimine Principum," compiled, he says himself, from a book of that name by Ægidius or Giles de Colonna, the "Secretum Secretorum" ascribed to Aristotle, and the "Game of Chess Moralised" by Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cessoles, translated through the French as Caxton's "Game of Chess" But the treatise is digested into practical counsel, not without reminder of the unpaid annuity, and it deals so boldly with the actual life of its own day, pushes home so closely the Christian counsel of peace to a warrior king, while giving him the measure of true royalty, that we feel the right music of life sometimes throbbing in his Chaucer stanzas A king is to keep his coronation oath, is to live with Justice, Piety, Mercy, Patience, Humility, Chastity, Sobriety, Magnanimity, Liberality, Prudence, the character of each of these virtues is enforced by example, the tale of John of Canace being the example of Fools' Largess And let him follow after Peace He is no wretch who can show patience, "but sikirly a wrecche is he alone that maketh strife" Three things lead men to peace—conforming to God, humbleness in ourselves, and tranquillity of thought with our neighbours

> "How pleasaunt to God is of pees the myrthe,
> What delyte eke in pees and unyoune,
> The Prince of Pees hathe shewéd in his erthe
> By aungels' delytáble song and soune,
> Also after his resurreccioúne
> He pees bade, and whan he to heven sty*
> He lefte his pees in his erthé trulý

* *Sty*, ascended First English "stigan"; German "steigen."

> " That yift of pees, that precious jewelle
> Yf men it kepe, and do it not away
> Sonés of Christ they may be clept fulle welle
> But stryfe that much is to the fendes pay *
> Amonge us feruent is, so welaway!
> We Christen folk, what within and withoute
> Have so grete stryfe, that thei may no pees route
>
> " The ryot that hathe ben withyn this lande
> Amonge our self fulle many wintres space,
> Hath to the swerdé put many a thousánde
> The gredy harté that wolde alle embrace
> With vicioùs wille and crabbed palé face,
> And swepir feudly and stioké vengeáble
> Hath many a woman madé clothed in sable "

Let Christian kings war only on the enemies of Christ—

> " O littalle booke, who yafe thee hardynesse
> Tho wordés to pronounce in the presénce
> Of kyngés impe and prynces worthynesse,
> Synne thou alle naked art of eloquence?"

That courage was a gift of God, cherished in England as fidelity to duty

Occleve, like Lydgate, lived to draw near, if not to reach, the age of eighty In one of the MSS of the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham,† which contains poems by Occleve, there is a ballad to the Duke of York which Thomas Tyrwhitt pointed out as proving that Occleve must have been alive in 1447 or 1448, because it mentions Prince Edward, who was born in 1441, and also his tutor, Maister Picard He says also that his sight is failing, and is worse for the pride that forbids him to wear spectacles Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith has been the first to edit ‡ from the same MS a poem of Occleve's,

* *The fendes pay*, the satisfaction of the devil

† Phillipps MS, 8151

‡ "Ballad by Thomas Occleve addressed to Sir John Oldcastle, A D 1415," in *Anglia*, vol v (1882), pp 9—42 The little piece is

written in 1415 to Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) as one who was

> "a manly knyght,
> And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
> Standing in the favour of every wight,"

and urging him, by friendly persuasion and by reasoning against the opinions for which he was accused of heresy, to come out of his hiding and return to Christ and to his king The poem was written within the four years during which Oldcastle, having escaped from the Tower, was in Herefordshire and Wales, protected against seizure by his loyal friends, and at the time when Henry V, in August, 1415, was crossing from Southampton on his way to besiege Harfleur—

> "Looke how our cristen Prince, our ligé lord,
> With many a lord and knyght beyond the see,
> Laboùre in armés, and thow hydest thee
> And darst not come and shewé thy viságe!
> O, fy for shamé! how can a knyght be
> Out of thonúr of this rial viáge?"

Occleve in his poem objects to laymen, and to some women, who, though their wit be thin, "wol argumentis make in holy writ" But of women generally Occleve wrote, as I have said, in the spirit of his master Chaucer, witness these stanzas from his "Letter of Cupide," written in 1402, which Miss Toulmin Smith has found pleasure in quoting—

> "Trust, parfite love, and entire charité,
> Fervent will and entalented coráge,
> All thewis gode, as sittith well to be,
> Have women e'r of custome and uságe;
> And well thei connen mannis ire aswage

not merely printed, but admirably edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, to whom students of English literature are often indebted for her accurate and interesting studies of the past See, for further example, "E W" iv 102

With softé wordis, discrete and benigne,
What thei be' inwárd thei shewe outwárd by signe

" Womanis herte unto no cruiltie
Enclinid is, but they be charitáble,
Pitous, devote, full of humilitie,
Shamefaste, debonaire, and amiáble,
Dredéfull,* and of wordis mesuráble
What women these have not, paraventúre,
Folowith not the waie of ther natúre "

* *Dredefull*, full of dread, in the best sense, not in modern usage of the word, inspiring dread *Shamefast* was the old word for modest, formed like soothfast, steadfast, &c , corrupted later into shamefaced In the former stanza *entalentid corage* is a willing earnest disposition of the heart Chaucer's birds sing in the spring, " So priketh hem natúre in her corâges," and the French *talent* was defined in Cotgrave's Dictionary as " will, desire, an earnest humour unto An old recipe for a concoction with centaury, quoted by Mr Albert Way in his edition of the "Promptorium Parvulorum," was recommended as causing a "good talent to meat "

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH CONTROVERSY—CHRONICLERS

JOHN PURVEY, of Lathebury, near Olney, in Buckinghamshire, ordained in 1377, had lived, as we have seen, with Wyclif in his later years, assisting him in parish duties and in preparation of his English version of the Scriptures After Wyclif's death Purvey removed to Bristol, and, for his zeal as a Reformer, was in 1387 forbidden by the Bishop of Worcester to preach in his diocese, of which at that time Bristol was a part In 1388 and 1389 writs were issued for the seizure of Purvey's writings, as well as those of Wyclif and of the Wycliffites In 1390 he was in prison, where he wrote a commentary upon the Apocalypse from lectures of Wyclif's In 1396 his heretical opinions were collected by Richard Lavingham In 1400 Purvey was brought before the Convocation immediately after William Sautré, formerly parish priest of St Margaret, Lynne, but then of St Osyth, London Both recanted, but Sautré conquered his fear, reasserted his convictions, and was burnt next year in the city of London He is commonly regarded as the first Protestant martyr, though we have seen that he was not the first person burnt in England for opinions condemned by the Pope* Purvey, at about the same time, was admitted to the vicarage of West Hithe, in Kent, which he resigned in October, 1403 In 1407 he was distrusted by Archbishop Arundel, in 1421 he was

John Purvey

imprisoned by Archbishop Chichele, and he was alive in 1427.

To John Purvey is ascribed, perhaps rightly, though a little doubtfully, a "Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church,"* addressed to the People and Parliament of England in 1395. It attacks the holding of secular offices by the clergy, demands that they should live good lives, preach and teach, avoid simony, and be subject to the laws of the realm. Christian men are not bound to believe that the Pope is head of the holy Church on earth, or that his indulgences are "withouten errour or leesyng," or that St. Peter had more power than other Apostles greatly loved of Christ. The Pope's bulls cannot make it right to give alms to the rich that belong to the poor. Monks and canons ought to be poor and live simply, friars "to lyve symplière and streithere than other religiouse."

Such as these were the doctrines that laid hold firmly upon a considerable section of the English people, and made the Church reformers, who had never been without a spokesman since the days when Walter Map invented his Bishop Golias in the Court of Henry II., after Wyclif's death so numerous that Henry Knighton said "they were multiplied like suckers from the root of a tree, and everywhere filled the compass of the kingdom, insomuch that a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wyclif." †

Soon after Wyclif's death in 1384, Richard II. had issued special letters authorising proceedings against the Lollards in Herefordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicester-

* "Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church, addressed to the People and Parliament of England in 1395, 18 Ric. II. Now for the first time published. Edited by the Rev. J. Forshall, F.R.S., &c., formerly Fellow of Exeter College. London, 1851."

† Knighton in Twysden's "Scriptores X." (ed. 1652), col. 2666, l. 62.

shire, and elsewhere In 1388 licence was given to the Primate to search after Wyclif's books, and to imprison and otherwise punish those who had them In 1395, which was the date of Purvey's "Remonstrance against Roman Corruptions," the Reformers appealed to Parliament with a paper embodying their demands, and placards were affixed to the doors of St Paul's and Westminster Abbey censuring the corrupt sensuality of a rich clergy that held a great part of the landed property in England, besides their personal estates, their tithes, and other pickings

Contest with the Lollards

From Henry IV the Church reformers, like all other reformers, hoped for support, but he had not long worn his crown before he leagued with the clergy against them. As it had been settled by statute of the fifth year of Richard II, so it was confirmed by statute of the second year of Henry IV, that part of the sheriff's oath, when he took office, was to be that he should seek to redress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollards This indicates the early sense of the word, which, though otherwise derived from the Englishman, Walter Lollardus, who is said to have taught in Germany "the errors of the Petrobusians and Henricians"* and who was burnt at Cologne in 1322, was then commonly, and, I believe, rightly supposed to be derived from Lolia or Lollia, tares That clause for the separation of the tares of heresy remained part of the sheriff's oath until

* Petrobusians, from Pierre de Bruys, native of the hills of Dauphiné, who was burnt at St Gilles about 1126 He taught that baptism before puberty is useless, and that prayers of the living do not help the dead, especially he attacked worship of crosses, said that they ought all to be burnt, and himself burnt them The teaching of Pierre de Bruys was continued with more persuasion and less violence by the holy hermit Henri Bruys, whose followers were called the Henricians, and became numerous in the south of France If Lollardus was a name given to Walter by his opponents, the etymology of the English word is really accordant to its usage in the above cited statute of Henry IV

Sir Edward Coke objected to it on being appointed sheriff of Buckingham In the second year of the reign of Henry IV it was further enacted that if any persons were suspected of heresy the ordinary might detain them in prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors, provided always that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially ended within three months If they were convicted, the diocesan, or his commissary, might imprison and fine them at discretion Those who refused to abjure their errors, or after abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power, and the mayor, sheriffs, or bailiffs were to be present, if required, when the bishop or his commissary passed sentence, and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place burn them to death before the people

It was under this Act that Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, held imprisoned in the castle of Saltwood the Wycliffite priest William Thorpe, with whom he held an argument upon the Canterbury pilgrimages that has been cited * in illustration of the groundwork of the "Canterbury Tales" Power of life and death over those whom they condemned as heretics was given by this statute to the bishops and their commissaries, and the condemned had no right of appeal to any temporal court The zeal even of reformers who were of the upper classes was against the Lollards, who were teaching the untaught to claim religious liberty Abbey-bred chroniclers were hot against them, but it is noticeable that both chroniclers and controversial theologians, either by absence of all charge of evil life, or by direct mention of their good conversation before men as a part of their diabolical cunning for the more ready enticement of men's souls, bore witness to the blameless character of Wyclif and the Wycliffites Of this we shall presently have evidence

Meanwhile the laws that had been powerless to stay

* "E W" v 283—285

the onward spiritual movement of an earnest people were strengthened, in the imagination of law-makers, with new penalties Towards the close of Henry IV's reign there were dissensions between King and Parliament, and the Parliament itself was so far inclined to second some of the complaints of Lollards that it recommended seizure of Church temporalities, and would have brought convicted priests within reach of the secular arm, out of the shelter of their bishops. But in the second year of the reign of Henry V, in 1414, a new law was passed against the Lollards, which ordained that they should forfeit all the lands they had in fee simple and all their goods and chattels to the King All state officers, at their entrance into office, were sworn to use their best endeavours to discover them, and to assist the ordinaries in prosecuting and convicting them The same Act decreed that whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother-tongue they should "forfeit land, catel, lif, and godes from theyr heyres for ever, and so be condempned for heretykes to God, enemies to the crowne, and most errant traitors to the lande"

It was at the beginning of Henry V's reign that Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a brave and honourable knight, who was peer of the realm by right of marriage, was called upon by Archbishop Arundel to abjure tenets of Wyclif. His home, Cowling Castle, in Kent, had opened its doors to persecuted teachers of the Lollards, his social rank and his pure life made him a strong support of their cause in the eyes of the people who sought Church reform Cobham manfully set forth his true belief when in the hands of his accusers, saying, after all endeavour to procure a retractation, "None otherwise will I believe than I have told you hereafore Do with me what you will" Delivered over to the secular arm, and conveyed back to the Tower (this was in September, 1413), during a six weeks' respite, Cobham escaped from his prison Enormous reward was offered for

his recapture, but he remained safe in Wales till he was taken by Lord Powis, early in the winter of 1417 On the next Christmas morning he was hanged up by the middle in an iron chain upon a gallows in St Giles's fields, and burnt alive while thus suspended The last words heard from him were praise of God, into whose hands he resigned his soul

Chichele was then Primate, violent as Arundel in vindictive dread of Lollard attacks on the Church temporalities It was he who led the orthodox clergy when they urged the ready king, Henry V, who was twenty-five years old, and had a military genius, to divert attention of the people from domestic needs by foreign war It was a war based on unwise claims of dominion over France—claims which the English Primate and his party declared to be just and lawful But it would be a most grave error to suppose that the opposition to the followers of Wyclif made by the Church as then established, while it necessarily included in its ranks all who were merely contending for their worldly gains, was not maintained also by devout and learned men. Many opposed from a pure sense of right, a reverent faith in authority, and honest dread of what might follow from a general rejection of theological doctrines and Church customs believed to be necessary to eternal salvation, and as such transmitted to the keeping of the Church from the Apostles themselves, through the teaching of the fathers

John of Bromyard

John of Bromyard, a small market town in a Herefordshire orchard district, near the river Frome, was a Dominican, and Cambridge Master of Theology and Doctor Utriusque Juris, who taught Theology at his University, and about the year 1390 bitterly opposed himself to the teaching of Wyclif He was dead in 1419, leaving behind him a "Summa Predicantium," which was printed first in an edition without date, place, or

printer's name, then in a large folio at Nurnberg in 1485, again in 1518, at Lyons in 1522, in quarto at Venice in 1586, and at Antwerp in 1614 He wrote also an "Opus Trivium," so called because it treated of the Divine, the Canon, and the Civil Law, printed first without date, place, or printer's name, and again at Paris in 1500, and some works that have not been printed, namely, "Summa Juris," a "Summa Juris Moralis," a "Tabula Utriusque Juris," "Distinctiones Theologicæ," being fifty-five sermons for Sundays and great feast days, a Tractate against the Wycliffites, and a Theological Dictionary, if that be not another name for his "Summa Predicantium"*

The Nurnberg edition of the "Summa" is without pagination, but contains about a thousand pages in large folio of double-columned black letter† The words of the preacher, says John of Bromyard, are as sparks that inflame the heart Each must live not for himself alone, but also for posterity The ancients held that he lives not for himself who lives not for the use of others, and John of Bromyard quotes to this effect Seneca, Cicero, and Plato He appeals to principles of civil law and ethics, quotes also Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and Ecclesiastes, to show why he has in this book arranged alphabetically, with subdivision for convenient reference, his compilation of matters fit to be used in preaching, as, of healing herbs, of edifying Pagan fables and testimonies to the truth drawn from the heathen and their works, of customs of men and of strange animals, or of examples that can be applied against particular vices, because men are less stirred by

His *Summa Predicantium.*

* Quétif and Echard's "Scriptores Ordinis Prædicantium" (Paris, 1719), tom 1, pp 700–1

† "Summa Predicantium Fratris Johannis de Bromyard, Ordinis fratrum Predicatorum," is the title heading the index The Nurnberg edition in the British Museum is without a title-page

generalities Thoughts are as much more than words as soul is more than body The faults of his compilation, says John of Bromyard, are his own Its merits are to be ascribed to the clemency of the Blessed Virgin, St Gregory, and St Dominic The book thus introduced is arranged under such heads as "Abjicere" (we must cast away our sins), Abstinence, Absolution, Adulation, Avarice, Contrition, Conscience, Counsel, the Cross, Damnation, Detraction, Election, Faith, Judgment, Patience, Poverty, Penitence, Spiritus Sanctus, Trinity, Visitation, Vocation, and the like, ending in Christus, all forming an earnest, erudite, and interesting mass of mediæval practical theology

Henry V., although essentially a soldier, and intemperate in war, was temperate in life, well taught, and had respect for scholars His Ambassador in Spain in 1422 was William Lindwood, an Oxford Divinity Professor, who wrote the "Constitutions of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Langton to Chichele" Lindwood was made Bishop of St David's in 1434, and died in 1446 He had been preceded in his bishopric by the astronomer Rocleve, who had been among the friends of Henry V, and to whom that king gave the see

William Lindwood

But more closely attached to King Henry V was the most famous English theologian of his day, Thomas of Walden, who was the king's confessor. Thomas Netter, of Saffron Walden, in Essex, or Thomas Waldensis, was born about the year 1380, and educated at Oxford, where he was made a doctor of divinity, and publicly disputed against Wyclif's doctrines He became a Carmelite in London, and in 1395 was ordained sub-deacon by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London In 1409 he was appointed a member of the Council of Pisa, and in 1414 he became Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, succeeding in that office his friend and patron, Stephen Patryngton, who was then made Bishop of

Thomas Netter, of Walden

St David's In this character he was a distinguished member of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), which condemned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burnt Netter—accounted among the orthodox the prince of controversialists in the fifteenth century—was also Inquisitor-General in England for the punishing of heretics At the close of the Council of Constance, Thomas of Walden went in 1419 into Lithuania, to negotiate a peace between Jagello King of Poland and Michael, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order He founded in Lithuania several Carmelite monasteries, and by some of his admirers has been called the apostle of Lithuania It was when he returned to England that Thomas of Walden became confessor to King Henry V, who on his death-bed committed his infant son to his confessor's care Afterwards Walden went abroad with the young Henry VI, and died while attending on the English court at Rouen, in November, 1430, bequeathing his books to the great library of the Grey Friars in London

As a writer Thomas of Walden is remembered as the ablest of the controversialists against the Lollards The chief of his numerous works are his "Doctrinale Antiquitatum Ecclesiæ," dedicated to Martin V, and the "De Sacramentis," which is a continuation of it* He wrote commentaries upon several books of Scripture, on Prescience and Predestination, sermons, 164 letters, &c, on Grammar, Logic, the ten Predicaments, on Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics, and the Soul. He put together also a Latin book called "Bundles of Master John Wyclif's Tares with Wheat," which contains the statute de Hæretico comburendo, the bull

Fasciculi Zizaniorum

* These have been several times published together as "Thomæ Waldensis Opera," printed, always in folio, at Paris in 1532, at Salamanca in 1556, at Venice in 1571, and again at Venice, edited by the Jesuit Blanchiotti in three volumes folio, in 1757

of John XXIII against Wyclif's heresies, condemned opinions of Wyclif, sentence passed on him, and on John Huss, accusations against Jerome of Prague, divers condemned errors of Lollards and others, the latest topic being the examination of William Whyte, September 13, 1428, at which Thomas of Walden was himself present, two years before his death The "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" * were first edited by the late Canon Shirley from the unique MS in the Bodleian Library, for the series of Chronicles and Memorials issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and Dr Shirley's opinion was that Patryngton put together the first part of the narrative in the course of the years 1392-1394, and perhaps collected some of the tracts which are arranged in chronological sequence, but that he abandoned his plan and left his papers to Netter To these, which extended to the year 1400, Netter added some collected by himself, after his return from Pisa, during the years 1414—1428, and the materials thus accumulated were, after the death of Thomas Netter of Walden, abridged and arranged by another hand

Thomas of Walden's *Doctrinale Antiquatum Ecclesiæ*

Walden's "Doctrinale" is a long and systematic theological assertion of Church doctrine against Wycliffite heresies First citing ten doctrines of the Wycliffites—as, that the Church authority is to be condemned whose rights cannot be proved from Scripture, that Scripture is the only rule of faith, that the Fathers have erred—he says that "the Wycliffites affect piety, declaim against vices and teach Holy Scripture, that so they may the more artfully deceive

* "Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico Ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry V Edited by the Rev Walter Waddington Shirley, M.A" London, 1858 See also "E W" v 22*n*

the simple," that "the Wycliffites contrive not only their words but also their conduct, that they may the more effectually seduce men by their credit for good life," that they accuse the Catholics "of not understanding Wyclif's words, or reciting them falsely, or boldly ascribing to him what he did not say" Then, after prayer for the happy consummation of his work, the orthodox controversialist opens his First Book, on Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, in his disparity of natures, and argues against Wycliffite opinions of the essence, power, and knowledge of God, of the composition of man, and of Christ as God and man His Second Book proceeds then to "the body of Christ, which is the Church, and its various members" Here he argues first of the Episcopacy of St Peter and his predominance among the apostles, which soon brings him to assertion of the powers of the Pope and bishops His Third Book is of those whose religion is perfected in the law of Christ, and here is defined the superiority of the religion of the religious orders to that of the common people In his Fourth Book, Thomas of Walden shows that men devoted to religion in the Church have a right to ask for their food, and beginning with the mendicant orders, he argues that Christ was a mendicant, and ordered that his disciples also should beg Having replied to the Wycliffite argument against mendicant orders, Walden defends those living by manual labour and those which live on acquired land and property Such is the purport of the four books constituting the first part of the "Doctrinale" It is followed by a work, also dedicated to Martin V, and prefaced by a recitation of twelve Wycliffite doctrines, that treats of Wycliffite and older heresies against the Seven Sacraments, dealing with each Sacrament in turn Another survey of the argument upon the Sacraments is meant to confute the Sacramentarians There was to have been a work also upon Indulgences, &c, but this was not written

John Capgrave

John Capgrave, born at Lynn in Norfolk, on the 21st of April, 1393, was sent while young to one of the English Universities, probably, as Leland guesses, Cambridge, although there can be little doubt that he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, where he is said to have interpreted publicly the Old and New Testament It was at the age of twenty-four that he entered the priesthood, and he was in London at the time of the birth of Henry VI in 1422, though, doubtless, his home then was in the house of the Austin Friars at Lynn, which had a considerable library. Soon after he had taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity, John Capgrave was made Provincial of his Order in England, and it is probable that he also presided over the Friary at Lynn, where he died on the 12th of August, 1464, aged seventy-one He was accounted one of the most learned men of his time, and wrote many works that have been left unprinted besides his printed "Chronicle of England" and "Book of the Noble Henries" He wrote a commentary on the Book of Genesis, of which the extant MS is that which was presented by him at Penshurst to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester He wrote also commentaries on the other books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the Books of Kings, the commentary on Kings also presented to Duke Humphrey He wrote commentaries on the Psalter, on Ecclesiastes, on Isaiah, Daniel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, on the Epistles of St Paul (dedicated to Duke Humphrey), on the Canonical Epistles, on the Acts and Apocalypse He wrote also on the Creeds, also a "Manual of Christian Doctrine," also "Theological Conclusions," "Sermons for a Year," "Scholastic Lectures," "Ordinary Disputations," "Addresses to the Clergy on the Sentences of Peter Lombard," "On the Followers of St Augustine," "On Illustrious Men of the Order of St Augustine," "The Life of St Augustine," the Life also of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester All these

works were written in Latin He wrote an English "Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham," a work of which the only MS was destroyed in 1731 by the fire in the Cotton Library He wrote in English rhyme a "Life of St Katherine," in two books, of which three MSS remain It professes to be a reshaping of the antique rhymes of a priest named Arreck, who had died at Lynn many years before Capgrave's time, and whose enthusiasm for St Katherine had caused him to spend eighteen of his years, and twelve of them in Greece, upon a search for records of her history At last by direction of a vision, in the days of Peter King of Cyprus and Pope Urban V, Arreck dug up in Cyprus, from under the flowers and grass of a field, an old book of the very matter written by Athanasius her tutor, and hidden there a hundred years before by Amylon Fitz Amarach As for the good priest who made the discovery and wrote the antique English rhymes,

> "He is nough ded, this good man, this preest,
> He deyed at Lynne, many year agoo,
> * * * * *
> Of the West Cuntre it semeth that he was,
> Be his manner of speche, and be his style,
> He was somtyme persone of Seynt Pancras
> In the cyte of London, a ful grete while
> He is now above us ful many myle
> He be a mene to Katairyne for us,
> And she for us onto oure Lord Jesus
> After hym next I take upon me
> To translate this story and set it more playnle"

Capgrave wrote also a Latin "Sanctilogium," printed in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde as "Nova Legenda Angliæ," but his most important works were his Latin "Book of the Noble Henries," dedicated to King Henry VI, and his "Chronicle of England," written in English, and dedicated

His "Chronicle" and "Book of the Noble Henries"

to King Edward IV * Capgrave's Chronicle begins with the Creation, and after rapid compilation of the earlier events, introduces many fresh details into its concise narrative of the course of English history in his own time As a hearty orthodox Churchman, this chronicler detested Wyclif and the Lollards, but as an Englishman he sympathised with resistance to aggressions of the Papal See upon his king's prerogative, or on the just rights of his countrymen Capgrave's "Book of the Noble Henries" begins with a brief history of the six Henries of the Empire, glorifies in a second part the six Henries of England, and in a third part celebrates twelve illustrious men who have borne that name A great name, he says, is Henricus, for in Hebrew Hen means "Behold the Fountain" or "Behold the Eye," Ri or Rei is "My Shepherd" or "My Pasture," and Cus is "an Æthiopian" or "Dark" because he who is crowned with this name is as a fountain for which the hart longs, and blessed are the eyes which see as he sees, our king also is leader of the flock, a pasture because men are fed by his good works, and dark or Æthiopian because there is no spot or blackness in him

Henry Knighton, born towards the close of the fourteenth century, was a regular canon of the abbey at Leicester, who wrote a Latin Chronicle of events in England from the time of King Edgar to the death of King Richard II His Chronicle is another of the ten published in 1652, in a single volume, by Sir Roger Twysden Knighton, of all the annalists of his time, was the one most energetic in hostility to Wyclif and his teaching "This Master John Wyclif," he says,

Henry Knighton

* Capgrave's "Book of the Noble Henries" and his Chronicle were edited in 1857 and 1858, by the Rev F C Hingeston for the Rolls series of Chronicles and Memorials In a corresponding volume, but not one of the official series, Mr Hingeston also issued in 1858 a translation of Capgrave's "Book of the Illustrious Henries."

"translated into the Anglic—not Angelic—tongue, the Gospel that Christ gave to the clergy and the doctors of the Church, that they might minister it gently to laymen and weaker persons, according to the exigence of their time, their personal wants, and the hunger of their minds, whence it is made vulgar by him, and more open to the reading of laymen and women than it usually is to the knowledge of lettered and intelligent clergy, and thus the pearl of the Gospel is cast forth and trodden under feet of swine *

Meaux Abbey, in Holderness, three or four miles to the east of Beverley, had a chronicler in its nineteenth abbot, Thomas of Burton, who resigned in 1399, and occupied the remaining eight years of his life in composing his work, and bringing together the feoffments, annals, and other evidences of his monastery This Chronicle, extending from the foundation of the abbey in 1150 to the year 1396, remains to us in the handwriting of its author, there remains also the author's autograph of a continuation of the record to the year 1406 by another monk of the same abbey † Thomas of Burton was a native, doubtless, of one of the Burtons, perhaps Burton Pidsea, near the monastery to which he gave his life He served as bursar in 1393-4, and Mr Bond, who has edited his Chronicle, believes that as he was twenty-second in a list of twenty-eight, he was then probably under thirty years of age As bursar, he had good opportunities of obtaining information, and he may then have begun his Chronicle He was made abbot in 1396, as a man both pious and lettered, on the

Thomas Burton of Meaux

* "Scriptores X," col 2664

† "Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, a Fundatione usque ad annum 1396, Auctore Thoma de Burton, Abbate Accedit continuatio ad annum 1406 a monacho quodam ipsius domus" Edited from the autographs of the authors by Edward A Bond, Assistant Keeper of the MSS, and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum [Afterwards Principal Librarian] Two vols 1866, 1867

resignation of William of Scarborough But it was urged by many of the brethren that he had been forced upon them by the Duke of Gloucester, acting through the Abbot of Fountains, who declared that all who resisted the election of Thomas of Burton would be shut up in the Duke's prison at Hedon This complaint having been made to a general Chapter of the Cistercian Order, the Chapter sent commissioners to make inquiry, but Robert Burley, the Abbot of Fountains, closed the gates of Meaux Abbey against them, and set men armed with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to oppose their entrance Burley and Burton, cited to appear before the general Chapter, went to Rome, and procured a bull which not only revoked the authority of the Chapter, but also annulled all the commissions issued by it A compromise was afterwards made upon arbitration But the uncompromising Abbot of Fountains, Father Abbot to Meaux, was no party to this After a little while he paid a paternal visit to Meaux, and denounced the malcontents Litigation was renewed, the monks accused of rebellion carried their case to Rome Burton, who had been cutting down the timber of the abbey to pay the expenses of these quarrels, stayed further dispute by yielding up his office, in 1390, when he had held it for three years and five weeks without having enjoyed a months' peace with his convent After his retirement, he employed himself as chronicler until he became blind, about eight years before his death in 1437 The historical part of his Chronicle for the times preceding his own is partly from Higden, an account of the successions to the see of York is copied literally from Thomas Stubbs Among others from whom he derives information, the St Alban's chroniclers are not included. But history, like other forms of literature, was in his time ceasing to depend, as it had done, upon the fostering care of learned monks, who gave their leisure to the pen

To silence the voice of an earnest people, Henry IV urged on his willing son with his last breath the policy of drawing their attention from their home-wants towards foreign war The desired end was answered, and the English mind, which for seven centuries had spoken its best— produced its highest literature— in labour, for the love of God and right, to banish all detected wrong, was checked in utterance during the French wars and the Civil Wars that followed They were wars of plunder and conquest, maintained by rival chiefs for selfish ends, that stirred among the English combatants no sense of a great principle A civil war wherein, on either side, the contest involves the defence of principles for which men strongly convinced may nobly die, exalts the mind, and its best utterances will make an undying literature The absence of great English writers during the French wars and civil wars following the death of Henry IV is due far less to the fact that those wars were exhausting than to their ignoble character In a mean hatred of France, or in the low-minded invasion memorable for the victory of Agincourt, there was nothing to exalt the souls of the great thinkers When the Cymry were resisting the incoming of the Angles, even the disastrous battle in which all their leagued chiefs except three are said to have perished, had its poet Their fields were reddened with their blood, their desolated homes were left "without light, without songs," their bards died miserably, mourning the loss of the sons they had sent to battle, of the chiefs by whose hearths they had sung, but still the fight for liberty produced the noble days of Cymric thought Those days of their exhausting, unsuccessful strife, inspired their Aneurin, their Llywarch Hen, their Taliesin, Merddhin, and a dozen more whose names survive The Cymry had another outburst of true song, and that was when the Welsh were battling for their nationality against the Anglo-Norman kings The struggle of the

Influence of the French wars upon the English mind

Scots against the mastery of England produced a Barbour to sing of the fight of Bannockburn. The contest of the English nation against civil and religious despotism, the labour to produce a Church worthily representing and sustaining the best aspirations of the people, produced from the noblest men within the Church itself from generation to generation, from Cædmon's Paraphrase to Langland's "Vision of Piers Plowman," such a literature as expressed most worthily the English mind. It turned even among laymen the elegant recreations of the courtier into patriotic utterances, profoundly earnest as the "Vox Clamantis" of John Gower, large and true in the expression of their sense of life as all that verse of Chaucer in which English literature first spoke with its full power through a writer who had not been educated to the service of the Church, and never held a benefice or lived among the clergy. Gower, indeed, was a layman, but he had for some time a benefice as lay Rector of Great Braxted, and he spent his last years in the priory of St. Mary Overies.

Decline of Literature in the fifteenth century.

Through the fourteenth century the stream of English literature flowed, broadening and deepening as culture broadened and the nation passed into new depths of thought, but now the flow is over shoals of barren sands and wastes of marsh haunted by will-o'-the-wisps, with only here and there a runlet of clear water. What harvest of high thought could clothe the desolation of those selfish wars? What serviceable light could shine from the delusive victories of that fifteenth century which bred for us not a single writer of the foremost rank?

Nearly the whole of English literature in the fifteenth century was imitative. It transmitted formulas of a preceding time. It was distinctly English, too; the character remained, although it was expressed less forcibly. There is advance, too, to be noted, apart from the fact that in the

middle of this century stands an event of such great ultimate influence as the discovery of printing

Henry V, having made his claim on France of all that had ever been possessed on French soil by his ancestors, left England to the care of his brother John, Duke of Bedford, crossed the Channel in August, 1415, and besieged Harfleur by land and water During the five weeks' siege, before surrender of the town, the English lost two thousand men by sickness alone Then, after the sick and wounded had been sent home, of an army of 6,500 cavalry and 24,000 archers, gunners, and artisans, there remained only nine thousand fit to take the field With these Henry advanced on Calais, was checked for six days at the ford of Blanchetaque, on the Somme, then marched up the river-bank, checked by the constable D'Albret, with a superior force, till he succeeded in crossing by a ford near the head of the stream at St Quentin The French fell back, not intending to give battle until all their levies had come up Henry marched straight upon Calais, through Artois, and being met at Blangi by the mass of the French army, fought there on the 25th of October, 1415, the battle named after the castle of Agincourt, which overlooked the narrow gorge in which the far out-numbered Englishmen were to be caught and smitten hip and thigh The English victory closed with a barbarous massacre of prisoners Of the French, seven princes, three hundred lords, and eight thousand gentlemen were slain, the commonalty were not counted Of the English, the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, four knights, and about sixteen hundred men were lost Next morning Henry, astonished at his victory, proceeded to Calais, where he held a council that determined his return to England to seek means for the renewal of the war While these means were being gathered, civil strife was renewed in France The Count of Armagnac administering cruelly the French affairs, imprisoned the queen, and

The French War

was accused of poisoning the dauphin John Queen Isabel joined with the Duke of Burgundy against her husband, her son Charles, and the Count of Armagnac, and the two French factions became the two camps of Armagnac and Burgundy In August, 1417, Henry landed in France again, conquered Lower Normandy, and after five months' siege took Rouen This led to a union of the Burgundians and Armagnacs against the common enemy But scarcely two months after the reconciliation, the Duke of Burgundy was murdered, and his young son and successor, Philip, immediately joined the English

Two chroniclers of English history fought in the battle of Agincourt We have a half interest in John de Wavrin, knight, who died lord of Forestel, in Picardy, and was born the illegitimate son of Robert lord of Wavrin, Lillers, and Malannoy, who had been chamberlain to John Duke of Burgundy John de Wavrin was contemporary with another chronicler, also the bastard of a noble family, Enguerrand de Monstrelet Wavrin began his career as a soldier by fighting on the side of the French at Agincourt, where his father and brother fell But two years later the Duke of Burgundy called the lords under his seignory to serve in the expedition to Paris, and thenceforth John de Wavrin was with the French allies of England When young Philip of Burgundy, after the murder of his father, sought English alliance, Isabel promised the friendship of Charles, and both agreed that Henry V should marry the princess Katherine, and assume the regency as heir to the French crown The treaty was signed in May, 1419, in the cathedral of Troyes Within a fortnight afterwards, Henry and Katherine were married Sens, Montereau, and Melun were then besieged and taken, and on the 1st of December, 1419, Henry V of England, Charles VI of France, and Philip of Burgundy entered Paris in triumph Wavrin took part in the succeeding contests, In 1428, in the reign

John de Wavrin

of Henry VI, he served Sir John Fastolf, grand master of the Regent Bedford's household, "with 5,000 men as well selected," he says, "as any I had ever seen in the country of France" In 1429, after the French, directed by Joan of Arc, had beaten the English at Patay, Sir John Fastolf, advised to save himself, entered the field again, saying he would sooner die than abandon his people When his men were slain, he went with a very small company, "expressing the deepest sorrow that ever man felt" Monstrelet's version of this flight affixed unjustly a stain on Sir John Fastolf's character, which probably suggested Shakespeare's use of his name in place of the honoured name of Sir John Oldcastle, with which his fat knight had been first associated John de Wavrin called himself advanced in life in the year 1455, and his chronicle ends abruptly with an event in the year 1471 He had left the army when yet in the vigour of manhood, retired to his native country of Artois, settled at Lisle, married, became seigneur of Forestel and Fontaine, and turned historiographer During the nine years between 1445 and 1455, he was digesting the memorials of English history for his Chronicle of it from the earliest years to the death of Henry IV Some time afterwards he added a continuation, which brought down the narrative to the year 1471 Wavrin, in compiling the earlier part of his history, drew freely on the "Brut," appropriated much from Froissart, and used less freely the Chronicles of Monstrelet, Chartier, and Berry Monstrelet died in July, 1453, and his Chronicle ended in 1443 Its anonymous continuer, whose work then ran parallel with Wavrin's, Sir Thomas Hardy believed to have been John de Wavrin himself *

* See Sir Thomas Hardy's introduction to the "Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, à present nommé Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin, Seigneur du Forestel," in the series of Chronicles and Memorials (1864)

John Harding was another soldier chronicler who fought at Agincourt He was born in 1378, at the age of twelve was admitted into the house of Sir Henry Percy, known as Hotspur, and served under Percy as a volunteer in the battles of Homildon and Cokelawe After Percy's death in 1403, John Harding, into whose keeping Percy had given the letters of certain lords, binding them to assist in dethroning King Henry IV, followed the banner of Sir Robert Umfraville, grandson of Gilbert Earl of Angus When, in 1405, Umfraville received Warkworth Castle from King Henry IV, for his services in the expedition against Lord Bardolph and the Earl of Northumberland, Harding became his constable, and before Umfraville's death in 1436 he was probably his constable at Ryme Castle, in Lincolnshire In 1415, Harding, too, aged 37, was among those who fought at Agincourt But he is not greatly inspired by the theme when he tells "how the kyng came homewarde through Normandy and Picardie, and smote the battaill of Agyncort, wher I was with my maister" This is his style here, and throughout the Chronicle He has neither the mind of a poet nor mechanical skill as a versifier —

John Harding

Agincourt

"An hundred mile to Calais had he then
At Agyncourt, so homeward in his waye
The nobles there of Fraunce afore him wen,
Proudly battailed with an hundred thousand in arraie,
He sawe he must nedes with theim make afraye,
He sette on theim, and with theim faught full sore,
With nyne thousand, no more with hym thore

"The feld he had and held it all that night,
But then came woorde of hoste and enemies,
For whiche thei slewe all prisoners doune right,
Sauf dukes and erles, in fell and cruell wise,
And then the prees of enimies did supprise

Their owne people, that mo were dede through pres
Then our menne might have slain that tyme no les

"On our side was the Duke of Yorke ther slain,
Therle also of Suffolke worshipfully,
And knightes two with other then soth to sain,
And at the siege therle of Suffolke sothely,
The father dyed of the fluxe contynually,
But mekell folke at that siege that dyed
Of frute and fluxe and colde were mortified"

Two stanzas then, given to the French losses, complete the account of the battle, thus—

"And fiftene hundred knightes and squyers mo
Were slain that daye in full knightely maner
With woundes so as then did apere
As werres would upon Chrispyn daye,
And Chrispynian that Sainctes in blisse been aye"

In the year 1416 this chronicler was with the Duke of Bedford in the sea-fight at the mouth of the Seine Harding had been employed for three years and a half in Scotland, endeavouring to get back the concessions made to Scotland by Mortimer during the minority of Edward III For services of this kind, tending to recovery of the claim on the kings of Scotland for homage to those of England, Harding was promised the manor of Gedington, in Northamptonshire, but lost it by King Henry V's death In 1424 John Harding was at Rome consulting "the great Chronicle of Trogus Pompeius," and afterwards he was again most busy for the recovery of deeds bearing on the fealty due to England from the Scottish kings He says that James I of Scotland, to whom we shall presently do honour in the company of the poets, offered him a thousand marks if he would embezzle some of the earlier instruments that he procured, others, he says that he obtained by paying four hundred and fifty marks. But some of the

deeds of his procuring, by which David II and Robert II were made to acknowledge the superiority of England, proved to be forgeries, though it is not proved that he knew them to be so

The first sketch of his Chronicle* ends with the death of Sir Robert Umfraville It was re-written for Richard Duke of York, father of Edward IV, and although ending with the flight of Henry VI to Scotland, contains internal evidence that Harding was at work on it in 1465 It is an unpoetical rhymed "Chronicle of England unto the reign of King Edward IV," and was first printed by Richard Grafton, in 1543, with a prose continuation to the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII †

* Lansdowne MS

† "Chronicle in Metre fro the first Begynning of Englande unto y[e] Reigne of Edwarde y[e] Fourth, where he made an End of his Chronicle And from y[t] Time is added a Continuacion of the Storie in Prose to this our Tyme," &c Lond in Offic Ricardi Grafton, Januari, 1543, 4to Harding's Chronicle was carefully re edited with a biographical and literary preface by Sir Henry Ellis in 1812

CHAPTER VII

SOME MINOR POETS—JAMES THE FIRST AND "THE KING'S QUAIR"

ENGLISH WRITERS, great and small, had in each generation dwelt upon the just rights of a people and the duties of a king Besides the greater works that have been named, there had been in the latter part of Edward III 's reign a keen satire of the shortcomings of king and court, in the form of a prophecy in Latin verse, divided into three parts, containing revelations during three accesses of fever, said to have been written by one John of Bridlington The author, whose name has doubtfully been called John Ergome, veiled his own personality, and speaking of the past as one who looked into the future, prefaced the prophecy, to which he had given wilfully an air of obscurity, with some suggested guides to its interpretation

John of Bridlington

Before we again look northward for a poet of high mark, brief mention is due to a small company of the poets whom we may see pass in a few sentences, and group, after Boccaccio's fashion, as "cantatores quidam"

We begin a long way back that we may not wholly forget Robert Baston, born at Nottingham, a Carmelite, who became prior of his monastery at Scarborough He is said to have been taken to Scotland by King Edward II to celebrate the English triumphs, but he was captured by the Scotch, and

Robert Baston

they required of him as ransom a panegyric upon Robert Bruce His "Metra de Illustri Bello de Bannockburn" were appended by Hearne to his edition of Fordoun's "Scotichionicon"

William of Nassyngton, a proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court of York, translated into English rhyme a Latin metrical treatise on the Trinity and Unity, called the "Mirror of Life" The translation was made about the year 1418 The original, in several thousand verses, was by John of Waldly, in Yorkshire, an Augustine friar, Provincial of his Order in England, and active in controversy against Wyclif

William of Nassyngton

Thomas of Elmham wrote a prose history of Henry V,* and a summary of it in Latin verse,† also a history of the monastery of St Augustine at Canterbury,‡ to which he belonged in early life Afterwards he entered the Order of Cluny, and was Prior of Lenton in Nottinghamshire till 1426

Thomas of Elmham

Thomas Brampton, a confessor of the Minorite Friars, wrote in 1414 a metrical version of the Seven Penitential Psalms, which was edited, in 1842, for the Percy Society by Mr Black, who supposes Brampton to have been also the author of a poem "Against Lollardie," printed in Ritson's "Ancient Songs," and to have written the "Plowman's Tale"

Thomas Brampton

Hugh Campden, in Henry V's reign, translated out of French "The History of King Boccus and Sydrack, how he

* Printed by Hearne Oxford, 1727

† Edited by Mr C A Cole, in "Memorials of Henry V, containing—I, Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore, II, Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti, III, Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V" Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials, 1858

‡ Edited by Mr Hardwick, in the Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials, 1858.

confounded his learned men, and in the sight of them drunk strong venym in the name of the trinite and did him no hurt Also his divynyte, that he learned of the book of Noe Also his prophesyes, that he had by revelation of the angel Also his answers to the questions of wysdom both moral and natural, wyth moche wysdom contayned in number 365."

Hugh Campden

John Audelay, of the monastery of Haughmond, near Shrewsbury, opposed Wyclif, but desired reform of Church abuses He was blind and deaf He versified religious duty in short poems upon Bible texts, and, while piously orthodox, he discriminated between men who, seeking the advancement of the Church, objected to self-seeking of the clergy, and were corruptly stigmatised as Lollards, and the men who withdrew from the Church, set aside their duties, and deserved the name *

John Audelay

George Ashby, clerk of the signet to Henry VI 's Queen Margaret, finished in his eightieth year a moral poem called the "Active Policy of a Prince" It was for Margaret's son, Prince Edward, and honours, in its prologue, Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate

George Ashby

Benedict Burgh, M A of Oxford, made Archdeacon of Colchester in 1465, Prebendary of St Paul's in 1471, and Canon of St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster in 1476, translated, about 1470, Cato's "Morals" into English stanzas, for the use of his pupil Lord Bourchier, son of the Earl of Essex This was printed by Caxton (in folio) in 1483, the year of Benedict Burgh's death He translated also Daniel Churche's "Cato Parvus" He likewise made an Aristotle's A B C, and is said to

Benedict Burgh

* "The Poems of J Audelay A specimen of the Shropshire Dialect in the fifteenth century. Edited for the Percy Society by J. O. Halliwell, 1844"

have finished a metrical version of the "De Regimine Principum," that Lydgate, at his death, left incomplete

George Ripley

George Ripley, a canon regular of the monastery of Austin Friars at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, annoyed his abbot and brother canons by his chemical experiments, was allowed by them to change into another order, and became a Carmelite at St Botolph's, in Lincolnshire He had been a great traveller, and was a busy alchemist He wrote in 1471, and dedicated to Edward IV, a poem called "The Compound of Alchemie" In 1476 he wrote another chemical poem, "The Medulla," dedicated to Archbishop Neville of York, a believing patron of the alchemists He died in 1490 *

Thomas Norton

Thomas Norton of Bristol, who says that he learnt the art of alchemy in forty days when twenty-eight years old, wrote in 1477 a poem called "The Ordinal, or Manual of Chemical Art," which he presented to Archbishop Neville The poems of Ripley and Norton were printed in 1652 by Ashmole, in "The Theatrum Chemicum"

In Scotland, the last important writers of whom we spoke were Andrew of Wyntoun and John of Fordoun, the author of the prose Chronicle that Walter Bower transcribed with interpolated information, and continued, as the "Scotichronicon," down to the reign of our next notable poet, James I, born in July, 1394

William Elphinston

There is an account of James I ascribed to William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, who is said to have been born in Glasgow in 1437, to have been successively Bishop of Ross and Aberdeen and Chancellor of Scotland, and who died on the 25th of October, 1514, aged seventy seven, during the time that

* His various chemical writings were published (in 8vo) at Cassel in 1649

James V was attempting to make him Archbishop of St Andrew's Hector Boethius said that Elphinston carefully investigated the history of his country The only known copy of Bishop Elphinston's MS "History of Scotland" was obtained by General Fairfax when in Scotland from Drummond of Hawthornden, and when he returned to England it was lodged in the Bodleian Library * This volume, among the Fairfax MSS in the Bodleian, is a small folio written about the end of the fifteenth century, containing a copy of the "Scotichronicon" of Fordoun and Bower, with interpolations and additions, and two poems written in the Scottish language of the middle of the fifteenth century The account given in the MS of James I has been edited by Mr Stevenson, with other pieces relating to the same subject, for the Maitland Club

James I of Scotland

The father of James I was John, who in 1390 succeeded his father, Robert II, as Robert III For the nine years closing Robert II's life there had been peace with England, after a contest that had lasted for a century with no longer interruption than the truce after the battle of Neville's Cross, a truce renewed from time to time, and even thus extended through no longer a time than seven years When Robert III came to his throne, the Scottish nobles, bred to active use of arms, were turbulent, the king himself throughout his reign was weak of mind and body, his eldest son a profligate, his brother, the Duke of Albany, able, but busy only for himself The people suffered The Estates in Parliament assembled in 1398, sought remedy for the ills of the land, and declared the king and his officers to be answerable If the king could show that all the blame lay with his officers, then let him do so The king's eldest son, then first recognised as

* Letter from Wodrow, November 2nd, 1726, quoted by Mr Stevenson, in Preface to the "Life and Death of King James of Scotland," printed for the Maitland Club in 1857

a duke—the Duke of Rothesay—was made his lieutenant with full sovereign powers, which the king was deprived of authority to check by countermand The Duke-lieutenant was to have all his acts as a sovereign minuted, and to be made strictly responsible to the Estates The same Parliament recognised also the king's brother by the new title of Duke, as Duke of Albany

In 1400 Henry IV, newly made King of England, renewed his claims on Scotland for acknowledgment of vassalage He marched an army to Edinburgh, but returned without a victory Then the great Scottish feudal chieftain, Dunbar Earl of March, transferred his allegiance to England In 1402 the Douglas made a raid into England, reached Durham, and was carrying his plunder home, when he was met by March and Hotspur at Homildon Hill, and suffered terrible defeat at the hands of the English bowmen In the same year, 1402, Albany had, with the help of Douglas, sent the Duke of Rothesay to a dungeon, whence he was not long afterwards taken out for burial Albany then became sole Governor of Scotland, but the weak king had another son, the boy afterwards James I, besides three daughters The Percys were preparing insurrection against Henry IV, they were in secret alliance with Owen Glendower, who had so headed a Welsh struggle for independence as to be for a time King of Wales Percy, in defiance of a royal order, released Douglas, and other Scots taken at Homildon, Douglas marched into England, joined Percy, and shared defeat with him at Worcester Albany had raised an army, and masked his designs, but if he had meant to join Percy he was too late Albany then favoured a fiction, or maintained the fact, that in Scotland King Richard II was still living

But Henry IV secured the undoubted possession of a Scottish prince, in March, 1405, when one of his

armed ships captured, off Flamborough Head, the vessel in which King Robert's surviving son James, then a boy in his eleventh year, was going with suitable attendance to be educated and protected at the court of France The seizure was made during a time of truce, but possession of the prince was not for that reason to be given up It was believed, and no doubt rightly, that Albany himself had contrived to secure the waylaying of the young heir to the throne In the following year King Robert died, and Albany, Governor by the grace of God—although the captive prince became King James I —was actually sovereign of Scotland

During the imprisonment of James, in the year 1411, the northern districts of the Scottish Lowlands, exempt from the ravages of English war, were threatened with a descent of Highland marauders, who were gathering in unexampled force under Donald, the Lord of the Isles The gentry and townspeople collected hastily a small body of determined, well armed men, under Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, who, on the 24th of July, checked the advance of the Highlanders at the Battle of Harlaw Poems were written upon this battle Scottish schoolboys of the next generation took sides and played at the Battle of Harlaw There still remains an old poem upon this battle, of 240 lines, such as

The Battle of Harlaw

> "Gud Sir Alexander Irving,
> The much renownit laird of Drum,
> Nane in his days was bettir sene,
> Quhen they war semblit all and sum,
> To praise him we sould not be dumm"

Harlaw remained the name of a tune in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is so cited by Drummond of Hawthornden, in Macaronic verse, a "piperlarius heros"

> "Præcedens, magnamque gerens cum burdine pipam
> Incipit Harlai cunctis sonare Batellum."

The year of the Battle of Harlaw was the year also of the foundation of St Andrew's University

The Regent Albany died, eighty years old, in September, 1419, when James I, prisoner still, was twenty-five years old Albany was succeeded as governor by his son Murdoch, who had also been a prisoner to England, but whom his father had known how to recover James, at the court of England, was at that time receiving a certain honour from King Henry V He had shown his genius, he had been liberally educated, crooked use had been made of him politically in the French war, but there was a wish to attach him, able as he was, to the English crown, and English policy favoured the genuine love that had sprung up between him and Joanna Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, the late king's brother, niece therefore to Henry IV, and first cousin to his son and successor Through that love James obtained his liberty Married to Lady Joan with royal state, on the 2nd of February, 1424, in the church of St Mary Overies, where John Gower lay buried, he was allowed to proceed to his kingdom, and was crowned at Scone in May of the same year But Henry of England paid his cousin's marriage portion with a fourth part of a fine of forty thousand pounds levied upon the released prisoner as payment for his maintenance

James I in England

Few poems deserving permanence in literature, yet almost unread, are better known by repute than that in which this captive king sang of his love in the year 1423 He sang according to the fashion of the day, and with so much honour to himself that the seven-lined Chaucer stanza which he followed—a familiar and favourite one with Lydgate, Occleve, and all other poets of the generation after Chaucer—was thenceforth, because enamoured majesty had used it, called rhyme royal Such royal patronage might be left now to the buttermen In Literature Chaucer was the king, and James his liegeman

The King's Quair

(*i e* Book) was divided into six cantos by William Tytler, its first editor, in 1783, but in the MS it is written continuously, opens with the poet in bed at midnight reading Boethius, of whose "Consolations of Philosophy" he represents the spirit in his verse When his eyes smarted with study he lay down thinking of the wheel of Fortune, how she had been to him in his tender youth a foe and then a friend

"Forwakit and forwalowit thus musing,
Wery, for-lyin, I lestynt sodaynlye,
And sone I herd the bell to matins ryng,
And up I rase, na langer wald I lye,
Bot now how trowe ȝe suich a fantasye
Fell me to my mynd, that ay me thoht the bell
Said to me, Tell on, man, quhat the befell"

Presently, therefore, he sat down

"And furthwithall my pen in hand I tuke
And maid a + and thus begouth my buke

Then Tytler's division makes the poet end a first canto with an image of a ship among black rocks with empty sail, which he feels evidently as an image of his life, crying

"—quhare is the wind suld blowe
Me to the port quhare gynneth all my game?"

but which he interprets as the difficulty he finds at the beginning of his little treatise

The second canto—if we may speak of cantos, and accept Tytler's division, without forgetting that, however natural they seem, and however widely they are accepted, this arrangement of the poem is not older than the year 1783—the second canto begins delicately but conventionally with stanzas telling how, when he was about three years past the state of innocence (which is the age of seven, in fact, when he was about ten years old), he was captured at sea by enemies while on the way to France,* and brought into their country, where he was

* Professor Skeat points out the completeness of the information given in the old astronomical manner The sun was entering Aries, it was the 12th of March, and it was four degrees past midday, 1 p m, when he took boat. In fact, he went by boat from North Berwick to

"in strayte ward and in strong prison," and where he bewailed his "dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance" He argued with those about him that—

> "The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
> They lyve in fredome everich in his kynd,
> And I a man, and lakkith libertee
> Quhat schall I seyne, quhat resoun may I fynd—
> That fortune suld do so?"

While thus a distressed prisoner, he says

> "My custum was on mornis for to rise
> Airly as day O happy excercise!
> By the come I to joye out of turment!"

It did him good to look out of his window at a garden made beside the tower wall, with thick green arbours in each corner, and shady alleys

> "And on the smalé grené twistis sat
> The lytil sueté nyghtingale, and song
> So loud and clere the ympnis consecrat
> Of lufis vse, now soft now lowd among,
> That all the gardyng and the wallis rong
> Ryght of thaire song, and on the copill next
> Of thaire suete armony, and to the text
>
> "Worschippé ye that loveris bene this May,
> For of your bliss the kalendis are begonne,
> And sing with vs, Away, Winter, away,
> Cum, Somer, cum, the suete sesoún and sonne!
> Awake, for schame! that haue your hevynnis wonne,
> And amorously lift up ȝour hedis all,
> Thank lufe that list ȝou to his merci call"

And as he watched the birds hopping from bough to bough in their new feathers, he thought to himself "Quhat lufe is this that makis birdis dote?" Is all we read of it feigned fantasy?" If Love be a lord to "bynd and loose and maken thrallis free," then he would seek grace to be one of his servants Therewith the poet, casting down

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the Bass Rock, from which he says that he sailed early in the morning with a favourable wind, and was taken by force when "vpon the wawis weltering to and fro" So he dates the event for us

his eye again, saw walking under the tower, newly come to make her morning orisons—

> "The fairest or the freschest ȝonge floure
> That euer I awe methoght before that houre,
> For quhich sodayne abate, anon astert
> The blude of all my body to my hert"

Only by letting his eyes fall, of free will he became her thrall, for there was no token of menace in her sweet face He drew in his head, leaned out again,

> "And saw hir walk that verray womanly,
> With no wight mo, but onely women tueyne"

Was she Cupid's own princess, or the goddess Nature herself? He dwells on her lovingly, describes her golden hair and rich attire, the pearl network and the precious stones, the chaplet on her head "of plumys partit rede and quhite and blewe" Doubtless because it is Joanna Beaufort whom he loves, he says of the plumes that they were—

> "like to the floure jonettis
> And other of schap, like to the floure jonettis,
> And, aboue all this, there was, wele I wote
> Beautee eneuch to make a world to dote"

By a small gold chain about her neck there hung a ruby heart, that seemed to lie burning like a spark of fire on her white throat Her light white morning robe, clasped negligently, was halfling loose for haste,

> "—— to suich delyte
> It was to see her ȝouth in gudelihed,
> That for rudenes to speke thereof I drede"

The delighted poet prayed to Venus for help, envied her little dog that with its bells played on the ground beside his lady, chid in six stanzas the nightingale for being silent, for not singing now to make her cheer "Here is the time to syng, or ellis never" If he clapped his hand the bird would fly, if he was silent she would sleep, if he cried she would not know what he said,

> "But blawe wynd, blawe, and do the levis schake,
> That sum tuig may wag and make her to wake"

With that she sang, and the poet made for his heart's queen a ditty of one stanza to her music Then he interpreted the singing of the birds But when the lady had walked a little while under the sweet green boughs, she turned her fair fresh face, as white as any snow, "and furth her wayis went" The poet then lamented all day long till, at evening, wearied out with grief,

> "That to the coldé stone my hede on wiye
> I laid and lent amaisit verily,
> Half sleping and half-suoun, in suich a wise
> And quhat I met I will ȝou now deuise"

Say that so ends the second canto, and the prisoner tells in the third how it seemed to him that a dazzling light came in at the window whereat he leant, and a voice said, "I bring thee comfort and heal, be not afraid" The light went out, and then he passed unhindered out of his prison door, and was raised by both arms into the air "clippit in a cloude of cristall clere and faire" So he was lifted up through sphere and sphere into a great chamber, where were many a million of lovers, whose chances are told in divers books, whose adventures and great labours he saw written about their heads, martyrs and confessors "ech in his stage and his make in his hand" After seeing Goodwill, Courage, Repentance, different kinds of lovers, and Cupid with bright wings, all plumed, except his face, and with three divers arrows, the poet came to the retreat of Venus, who had Faircalling for usher, and Secrecy her thrifty chamberlain He made his plaint to Venus, and asked mercy of her She bade him patiently abide and truly serve He is no worthy match for his lady, but she will send him to Minerva, and he must obey her counsel, and when he goes back to earth let him ask the men there resident how long they will neglect her laws Where, for shame, are the new songs, the fresh carols and the dance, the lusty life, the many change of game? Bid them repent in time and mend their life

In the fourth canto the poet is taken to the palace of Minerva, where Patience is porter and Hope is his guide Minerva bids him base his love on virtue, be true and meek and steadfast in his thought, doing fit service to his lady in word and work, and so abide his time Fie on those who deceive women as the fowler snares the bird It is hard nowadays to trust, but let him open his heart and he shall have true counsel if his heart be grounded, firm, and stable in God's law Then the poet declares in three stanzas that his love is pure as his desire is great.

> "Desire, quod she, I nyl it not deny
> So thou it ground and set in Cristin wise."

Being by few words further satisfied on this, the Goddess of Wisdom refers to the doctrines of Predestination and Freewill, and speaks of Fortune, whose help he is bidden next to seek.

In the fifth canto the poet tells how he went in quest of Fortune, over a pleasant plain by the flowery banks of a river. There was a highway between long rows of trees, and there were beasts of many kinds, lion and lioness, panther, squirrel, ass, ape, porcupine, lynx, unicorn, and many more, and presently, in a round walled place, he found Fortune dwelling on the ground, her wheel before her, and underneath it a deep, ugly pit. After an allegorical picture of Fortune, and the fates of those whom he saw climbing on her wheel, the poet says that Fortune called to him by name, and smiling, asked him playfully "Quhat dois thou here? quho has the hider sent? Say on anon, and tell me thyn entent." After a short dialogue with Fortune, who says to him—

> "Wele maistow be a wretchit man ycallit
> That wantis the comfort suld thy herté glade
> And has all thing within thy herté stallit,
> That may thy ȝouth oppressen or defade."

He is placed on her wheel, where let him take heed,

> "For the nature of it is euermore
> After ane hicht to vale, and geue a fall,
> Thus quhen me likith vp or doun to fall.
> Farewele, quod sche, and by the ere me toke
> So ernestly, that therewithall I woke."

The next canto of "The King's Quair," the sixth and last, opens with a fine reference to the Emperor Hadrian's "Animula, vagula, blandula"—

> "O besy goste, ay flikering to and fro,
> That neuer art in quiet nor in rest,
> Till thou cum to that place that thou cam fro,
> Quhich is thy first and verray proper nest;
> From day to day so sore here artow drest,
> That with thy flesche ay waking art in trouble,
> And sleping eke, of pyne so has thou double."

He rose from his uneasy sleep—the half sleep, half-swoon in which,

after a day of weeping in his prison, he had seen the visions described in the three preceding cantos—and went to the window, where a white turtle-dove (the bird of Venus) alighted on his hand and, turning to him, showed in her bill a fair branch of red gilliflowers with their green stalks, which had written in gold on every leaf:

> "Awake! awake! I bring, lufar, I bring
> The newis glad, that blisfull ben and sure,
> Of thy confórt! Now lauch, and play, and sing,
> That art besid so glad an auenture:
> For in the hevyn decretit is the cure."

The bird presented to him the flower, and with spread wings went forth. He took the flower up, read it a hundred times, and pinned it up at his bed's head. Fortune has borne herself so well with him that he will exert his wit to recompense her, now that he is come again to bliss with her that is his sovereign.

Why, asks the poet then, in an epilogue, should he write so much of an event so small? Because he has passed by it from hell to heaven,

> "And euery wicht his awin suete or sore
> Has maist in mynde, I can say ȝou no more."

And so he prays to Venus above for her grace upon all true lovers, and for the dull hearts that they may mend their lives and advance their souls with this sweet lore. He ends then with a tender strain of true love for "this flower." He thanks the prison wall from which he had looked forth and leaned:

> "And thus befell my blisfull auenture,
> In ȝouth of lufe, that now from day to day
> Flourith ay newe, and ȝit forther I say."

The flower of that true love never withered. There is a passage among these closing lines in which King James says of his wife:

> "And thus this floure
> So hertly has vnto my help attendit,
> That from the deth hir man sche has defendit."

There is a sad reading of those lines into literal forecast. At the murder of James, says Hawthornden, "having struck down the king, whom the queen, by interposing her body, sought to save, being with

difficulty pulled from him, she received two wounds, and he with twenty-eight was left dead " *

King James I went home to his Scottish throne in 1424, aged thirty He applied his English training at once to the Reform of Scottish law "It is here," says Mr Burton, in his History of Scotland, "that the practical statute law of Scotland may be said to begin" Statutes were passed by the Parliament of James I in almost every year of his reign The laws also were to be promulgated in the language of the people There was survey and valuation of property with a view to taxation There was—unwelcome to many lords—careful inquiry into titles Weights and

* The only MS of "The King's Quair" is in the Bodleian, marked Arch Selden, B 124 The date of the MS is about 1475 It includes many poems and treatises — some by Chaucer — and "The King's Quair" is on leaves 192—211 The first printed edition was that of William Tytler, father of Lord Woodhouselee—"Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1783 The next edition, called "The Works of James I, King of Scotland," was printed at Perth in 1786, formed upon Tytler's, with permitted abridgments of his notes It gave not only "Peebles to the Play" and "Christ's Kirk of the Green," but also "The Jollie Beggar" and "The Gaberlunzie Man" In 1815 (with a second edition in 1824), "The King's Quair" was edited by Ebenezer Thomson, of the Ayr Academy, who, in his second edition, printed at Ayr, was able to make some references to the original MS In 1824 "The King's Quair" was also printed by George Chalmers in "The Poetic Remains of some of the Scottish Kings" In 1826 "The King's Quair" was reprinted in the first volume of "Scotia Rediviva" In 1873 the Rev C Rogers, LL D, F S A, produced an edition of "The Poetical Works of King James the First of Scotland," limited to 150 copies, and in 1877 there was an edition by John Thomson, which was E Thomson's Ayr edition with E Thomson's later corrections In 1884 the Rev Professor Skeat edited for the Scottish Text Society "The King's Quair together with a Ballad of Good Counsel, by King James I of Scotland," with the text freshly taken from the MS and carefully prepared for students, with an Introduction, Notes, and Glossary This will remain the standard edition

measures were regulated, a standard of coinage was established One of the great wants of England, dwelt upon emphatically by English poets and reformers, was supplied by the provision that "if there be any poor creature that, for default of cunning and dispenses, cannot or may not follow his cause, the king, for the love of God, shall ordain that the judge before whom the cause shall be determined, purvey and get a leal and a wise advocate to follow such poor creature's cause"

While the king dealt thus mercifully with his subjects, he was resolved also to strike two rough blows for the securing of his kingdom Eight months after his restoration he arrested the ex-Regent, Murdoch Duke of Albany, his sons, and twenty-six of the leading nobles The nobles afterwards were set free, but Albany and his sons were tried, condemned, and executed He also lured into his power Donald and fifty other of the Highland chiefs, seized and imprisoned them, and executed those whom it was thought prudent to get rid of Donald was spared, but he renewed the rebellion When he was compelled to sue for pardon, others maintained the strife till James, by a firm effort, raised a force which they well knew to be too strong for them A daughter born to James and his wife Joan in the year after their marriage became, at the age of thirteen, wife to the young Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI

Meanwhile the measures that enlarged the liberties and privileges of the people pressed upon the feudal rights of James's nobles His inquiries into titles had alarmed them The lands forfeited by the Earl of March by his treason in transferring allegiance to England were, after a full parliamentary inquiry, maintained to be forfeit by decision of the three Estates Decision of a legal question caused the Earldom of Strathearn to pass from Malise Graham to Robert Stewart, Earl of Athole Rough nobles felt their

feudal rights abridged, their titles liable to question The personal irresponsibility they had enjoyed under a weak government was checked by the strong will of a king trained to respect those English laws which had a few years afterwards their eulogist in Sir John Fortescue Sir Robert Graham had in the Scottish Parliament strongly denounced the king's encroachments on the nobles, and called him a tyrant He was banished for this or for other acts of his, and went among the Highlanders, who were kept in subjection only by the king's strong arm, and were ready for any act of vengeance

The king kept Christmas, 1436, at the monastery of the Black Friars in Perth, within reach of his Highland enemies He was repeatedly warned of his danger, but was of a fearless temper On the 20th of February he was at the close of the day loosely robed, chatting before the fire of the reception-room with the queen and her ladies Three hundred Highlanders, with Graham at their head, broke that night into the monastery Bolts and locks had been tampered with It was then that a Catherine Douglas, finding that the great bolt of the chamber door had been removed, thrust her arm through the staples, and suffered it to be crushed while time was gained for the king's escape into a sewer-vault below The flooring was replaced, and the Highlanders, not finding the king, would have retired, but one who suspected the way of escape caused the floor to be searched James I was discovered, and was killed by sixteen wounds in the breast alone Although unarmed he defended himself well, leaving the mark of his grip on those of his murderers with whom he grappled His wife, who sought to shelter him, was wounded in the struggle There remained only a six-year-old son to be the king's successor But the child's father had been the friend of his people, the citizens of Perth hunted the murderers, caught them, and killed them with barbarous, protracted torture

In all this turbulent tale there is evidence of that stir of thought in a contest of principles which, when it appeals to a desire for liberty on both sides, however wild its form often may be, brings out the best expression of a nation's mind. The way was being prepared in James's reign for a bright period of Scottish literature. It may be that they are right who ascribe to this King James, and not a later one, the famous old Scottish poem in twenty-three stanzas which humorously describes rustic merry-making, dancing and fighting on Beltane Day at Peebles in the piece called "Peebles to the Play." This piece was ascribed to King James I. by John Mair, who was born thirty-three years after the king's death. Mair said of him: "He was a most clever composer in his mother-tongue, whereof many writings and familiar songs are still held by the Scots in memory among their best. He composed the clever song 'Yas sen,' and that pleasant and clever song 'At Beltane,' which others have endeavoured to change into a song of Dalkeith and Gargeil, because it was kept close in a tower or chamber where a woman lived with her mother." Though James I.'s authorship has been questioned, no evidence in favour of another author is as good as this, and as James I. showed in his public life much vigour of mind, there is no reason why, in writing a humorous popular poem in the dialect of the country folk, he should make it look like a court poem, in the manner of Chaucer. The first words, forming the old title to "Peebles to the Play" are "At Beltane;" the subject of the poem is the Beltane Festival at Peebles, and as Mair says, others, when the original could not be got at, gave imitations of it with the scene laid elsewhere. We have such an imitation extant in the poem of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," which describes, after the manner of "Peebles to the Play," a rustic festival, of which the scene seems to be laid at Leslie, in Aberdeenshire, where the ruins of an old Christ's Kirk

"Peebles to the Play."

still stand on a green and a fair used to be held The other imitations of King James's playful sketch of life among his people have been lost, unless, as Professor Skeat believes, "Peebles to the Play" itself is one of them, and it is the original by King James which has disappeared

In choice of the theme of ' Peebles to the Play" there was a poet's feeling Beltane Day was an ancient festival, originating in the days of Celtic paganism, held on old May Day by the Scots, and in Ireland on the 21st of June at the time of the solstice The word *Beil-tine* meant Bel's fire Bel being one of the old Celtic names of the sun Advance of the sun's beneficent power over the earth fixed the time of this ancient festival for joyous worship of one of the great forces of nature The celebration was first and last a rustic one, and it was kept at last especially by cowherds, who gathered in the fields, and dressed themselves a dinner of boiled milk and eggs, with cakes of a mystical form, designed, doubtless, by heathen priests of old, for they were studded with lumps in the shape of nipples

Peebles kept Beltane Day with so much holiday fun that strangers were drawn even from Edinburgh The author of "Peebles to the Play" begins his sketch of the humours of this Beltane Festival with a description of the gathering in the fields Then he proceeds to the dinner, the dance, the fun of an incidental fight, and so forth , his song being alive throughout with homely incident It may be noticed that a "Beltane Fair" is still held at Peebles on the second Wednesday in May

The three stanzas of "Good Counsel," in the manner of Chaucer's "Flee from the Press," which were early ascribed to James I of Scotland, and which Professor Skeat accepts as unquestionably his, I add as Mr Skeat has given them, with taste and skill, by using in three corrupted versions one text to correct another —

" Sen throw Vertew encressis dignite
And Vertew flour and rute is of noblay,
Of ony weill or quhat estat thou be
His steppis sew, and dreid thee non effray ,
Exil all vyce, and folow trewth alway
Lufe maist thy God, that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inch he wil thee quyt a span

" Be not ouir proud in thy prosperitie,
For as it cumis, sa wil it pas away ,
Thy tym to compt is schort, thou may weill se,
For of grene gress sone cumis wallowit hay
Labour in trewth, quhill licht is of the day
Trust maist in God, for he best help thee can,
And for ilk inch he wil thee quyt a span

" Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thou dant thy tung, that power hes and may ,
Thou steik thyne ene fra warldis vanité ,
Refrein thy lust, and harkin quhat I say ,
Graip or thou slyd, and creip furth the hie way ,
Keip thy behest unto thy God and man,
And for ilk inch he wil thee quyt a span "

CHAPTER VIII

REGINALD PECOCK

THE reign of Henry VI extends from the year 1422 to the year 1461 He was born in December, 1421, while his father was besieging Meaux in that last expedition to France from which he was brought back in funeral pomp, leaving a baby nine months old for his successor The Duke of Bedford was Regent of France, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester was in his absence made President of the Council, as " Protector of the Realm and Church of England "

The death of Charles VI made the infant King of England, by the Treaty of Troyes, sovereign of France, but this claim was resisted Then follows a dreary record of contention, wasting life and honour, the patriotic inspiration, the success, and the disgrace to the English of the burning of Jeanne d'Arc after her abandonment and sale by men of her own country Slowly the French ground was reconquered by the French, Burgundy and Scotland being on the side of the French king Mean passions were let loose in the feud of the old Cardinal Beaufort, brother to Henry IV, against his nephew, the king's uncle Gloucester, the good Duke Humphrey De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the king's favourite, negotiated peace with France, and marriage of the King of England to Margaret of Anjou, surrendering possessions of the English crown in France Humphrey of Gloucester was treacherously arrested, and within ten days dead Normandy and Guienne

The War of the Roses

were lost The English people, who despised their king, hated his queen and his favourite The Duke of Suffolk, intercepted on his way to the Continent by a great ship called the "Nicholas of the Tower," was captured and executed at sea, none asking by whose authority The disaffected people furnished thousands to the back of Jack Cade, who called himself of the house of Mortimer, and raised his standard for the restoration of the rightful York and suppression of the rule of the exhausted line of Lancaster Cade was at Blackheath with twenty thousand men, sending to parliament his Requests of the Men of Kent The king was in arms Victorious Jack Cade was in the city After Cade's followers had been dispersed, and Cade killed for the price upon his head, Henry's imbecility became insanity, and Richard of York was appointed the king's guardian and governor of the realm Henry recovered reason enough to resume his power, the Duke of Somerset, nearest relation of the line of Lancaster, and enemy to the Duke of York, was recalled to council, and the Duke of York retired to Ludlow Castle, where, with his son, Edward of March, who afterwards became king, he gathered force enough to attack the king and Somerset in their garrison at St. Alban's There Somerset, who led the Lancastrians, was killed, the king wounded by an arrow, taken prisoner, and first blood drawn in the civil wars of the Roses But after this battle of St Alban's, fought (May 22) on a spring day in 1455, there was rest from the actual clash of arms while strife continued for supremacy under the feeble rule of a king whose mind, weak through disease, swayed in its clearer hours towards a kindly piety It was in the interval of four or five years between the first battle at St Alban's and the renewal of bloodshed by intestine strife, that the proceedings of the year 1457 against one of the most remarkable of our early prose writers, give us fresh insight into the religious movements of the nation.

In the reign of Henry VI there was a Bishop of St Asaph and Chichester named Reginald Pecock He was born not long before the death of Chaucer, was a Welshman, who studied at Oxford, and became Fellow of Oriel on the 30th of October, 1417 In 1421 he was admitted to priest's orders, and a few years later was thriving in London, because his learning won him the goodwill of a friend of literature who was then protector of the kingdom, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester Pecock was made Rector of Whittington College, founded by the Richard Whittington who was thrice Lord Mayor of London (in 1397, 1406, and 1419) The College, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, was in the Church of St Michael Royal, rebuilt by him, and finished by his executors in 1424 It consisted of a Master and four Fellows, clerks, choristers, &c, and near it was an almshouse for thirteen poor people The office of Master of this College was associated with that of Rector of the Church to which it belonged, and Pecock became Master of Whittington College and Rector of St Michael Royal in 1431 Here he was resident for the next thirteen years, in the midst of the Lollard controversy, still active in study, and writing English tracts upon the religious questions of his time In 1440 he published a "Donet," or Introduction to the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion In 1444 his friend Humphrey Duke of Gloucester gave Pecock the bishopric of St Asaph In this office his busy mind was still active, and there were many critics of the opinions he expressed.

Reginald Pecock

When Thomas Arundel had been Archbishop of Canterbury from 1396 to 1413, the action against the Lollards had been quickened, new provision had been made for the burning of heretics, and freedom of preaching had been checked throughout the Church The reason for this was that, as preaching consisted in interpretation of the Scripture, the much interpreting by many minds would lead to diversities of

explanation, encourage laymen to apply their reason to Church matters, spread confusion of opinion, and break up the oneness of the Church Arundel's battle had been for unity in Christendom He died of a swelling of the tongue, and men said that was a judgment upon him for silencing the preachers Three or four years after Arundel's death, Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), who had been a successful general in the French wars, but at home was a friend and supporter of the Lollards, was on Christmas Day, 1417, suspended over a fire and roasted alive as a Lollard Such acts were meant to daunt the spirit of the Lollards, and did silence some, while it confirmed in them the spirit of opposition But to the braver minds it gave new energy of resistance to the action of the bishops Then Reginald Pecock began a defence of the bishops, which could not please the Lollards because it was directed against them, and displeased many of those whose champion he made himself For he brought their case into court before the body of the laity by writing in English, addressing himself to them, appealing to their judgment with such arguments as then passed for reason among scholastic men, and he was led by the deeper sense of right in his impulsive nature to make what those whom he defended looked upon as dangerous concessions About the middle of the fifteenth century—perhaps in 1449—Reginald Pecock produced, on the religious struggle of his day, a long English book, entitled "The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy" About the same time, in 1450, he was made Bishop of Chichester In 1456 he was following up his "Repressor" with another English treatise designed to promote peace by the persuasion of the Lollards It was called a "Treatise on Faith", and Pecock, admitting it to be vain to attempt to over-rule the Lollards by telling them that "the church of the clergy may not err in matters of faith," trusted to argument, and said "The clergy shall be condemned at the last day if, by clear wit, they draw not men

into consent of true faith otherwise than by fire and sword and hangment, although," he said, "I will not deny these second means to be lawful, provided the former be first used" He upheld the Bible as the only rule of faith He was accused of under-rating the authority of the Fathers, even of the four great fathers and doctors of the Church—Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory—the four stots of the allegory of Piers Plowman, who drew the harrow after the plough of the Gospel It was urged that when the Fathers had been quoted to rebut an argument of Pecock's, he had even been known to say, "Pooh, pooh!" In 1457, when, as Bishop of Chichester, Reginald Pecock took his place in a Council at Westminster, many temporal lords refused to take part in the business unless he were ejected The divines called on the Archbishop of Canterbury to submit to them Pecock's books for scrutiny He was required to come with his books to Lambeth on the eleventh of the next month, November He was then ordered to quit the Council chamber Twenty-four doctors, to whom Pecock's books were submitted, found heresies in them John of Bury, an Austin friar, replied to the "Repressor" with a "Gladius Salomonis" ("Sword of Solomon") attacking him for his appeal to reason, and opposing the conclusions which he held to be heretical Finally, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier (Archbishop from A D 1454 to A D 1486), pronounced a sentence which is thus reported —

"Dear brother, Master Reginald, since all heretics are blinded by the light of their own understandings, and will not own the perverse obstinacy of their own conclusions, we shall not dispute with you in many words (for we see that you abound more in talk than in reasoning), but briefly show you that you have manifestly presumed to contravene the sayings of the more authentic doctors For as regards the descent of Christ into hell, the Tarentine doctor, in an inquiry of his into the three creeds, says that it was left out of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, because no heresy had then arisen against it, nor was

any great question made about it As to the authority of the Catholic Church, the doctor Augustine says, *Unless the authority of the Church moved me, I should not believe the Gospel* As to the power of councils, the doctor Gregory says (and his words are placed in the Canon *Distinct* xv), that the four sacred Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon are not less to be honoured and reverenced than the four holy Gospels For in them (as he asserts), as on a square corner stone, the structure of sacred faith is raised , and in them the rule of good life and manners consists The other doctors also say with one mouth that although the sacred councils may err in matters of fact, yet they may not err in matters of faith, because in every general council, where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, His Holy Spirit is there in the midst of them, who does not suffer them to err in faith or to depart from the way of truth As regards the sense and understanding of Scripture, the doctor Jerome says, that whoever understands or expounds it otherwise than the meaning of the Holy Spirit requires, is an undoubted heretic With whom agrees the Lincoln doctor (Grosteste), thus saying "Whoever excogitates any opinion contrary to Scripture, if he publicly teach it and obstinately adhere to it, is to be counted for a heretic "

The Archbishop having then enlarged on the necessity of removing a sickly sheep from the fold, lest the whole flock should be infected, offered Pecock his choice between making a public abjuration of his errors, and being delivered, after degradation, to the secular arm "as the food of fire and fuel for the burning " "Choose one of these two" (he added), "for the alternative is immediate in the coercion of heretics "

Pecock had admitted the right of the Church to compel submission, though he thought it was the Church's duty to persuade by reason , and it was in absolute accord with his own teaching that he should now submit to the force used against himself He abjured the condemned opinions , and on the 4th of December, 1457, was brought in his robes as Bishop of Chichester to St Paul's Cross, where he recanted publicly, in presence of twenty thousand people, and then delivered with his own hand three folios of his

writing and eleven quartos to the public executioner, who cast them as publicly into a fire lighted for the purpose

A fortnight later, the authorities of the University of Oxford went in procession to Carfax, and there burnt every copy of a book of Pecock's that could be found in the town In March, 1459, Reginald Pecock was deprived of his bishopric, and sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, with these instructions for his safe keeping addressed to William Ryall, who was Abbot of Thorney between the years 1457 and 1464 —

"He shall have a secret closed chamber having a chimney, and convenience within the abbey, where he may have sight to some altar to hear mass, and that he pass not the said chamber To have but one person that is sad" (grave) "and well disposed to make his bed, and to make him fire, as it shall need That he have no books to look on, but only a portuous" (breviary), "a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible That he have nothing to write with, no stuff to write upon That he have competent fuel according to his age, and as his necessity shall require That he be served daily of meat and drink as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the freytour" (*i e*, from dining in hall), "and somewhat better after the first quarter, as his disposition and reasonable appetite shall desire, conveniently after the good discretion of the said abbot"

MSS differ as to the amount paid to the abbey for the maintenance of Reynold (Reginald) Pecock, "for his finding," one account says forty pounds, another eleven A fuller copy of the instructions—in which the sum named is eleven pounds—adds to the clause about the prisoner's bed-maker, "that no one else shall speak to him without leave, and in the presence of the abbot, unless the king or the archbishop send to the abbey any man with writing specially in that behalf," and another copy, which gives forty pounds as the sum paid—and xi seems to have been only a clerical error for xl—shows that part of the money was to be considered by the abbey payment to itself for its

trouble and responsibility, for concerning "the said Reynold" there was a "Provided in all wise that all the forty pounds above written be not expended about his finding, but a competent part thereof, as his necessity shall require, and that the remanent thereof be disposed to the common weal of the behoof of the said place" *

We turn now to Pecock's "Repressor" for some knowledge of that defence of the Church against the Lollards which brought down upon its author the condemnation of the Church He began with a text from the fourth chapter of St Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy "Undernyme thou, biseche thou, and blame thou, in all pacience and doctrine"—"Reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine" And thus he opened his case with a comment that, at the outset, granted the right of the laity to question, and made it the duty of the higher clergy to reply to questions, and with patience to set forth the doctrine that would satisfy the doubter's mind These words, Pecock says in his Prologue, were addressed by Paul to Timothy, a bishop The over-hasty blamers among the people should be still, if they want doctrine and patience by their indiscretions they destroy the force of just complaints Then he closes the Prologue with this explanation of the purpose and plan of his book —

"The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy"

Now that God, for His goodness and charity, cease the sooner in the common people such unwise, untrue, and overhasty undernyming and blaming made upon the clergy, and that for the harm and evils thereby coming now said I shall do thereto somewhat of my part in this, that I shall justify eleven governances of the clergy, which some

* These instructions are quoted in the introduction to the valuable edition of Pecock's "Repressor," 1860, by Mr Churchill Babington, which is included among "The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages," published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls

of the common people unwisely and untruly judgen and condemnen to be evil—of which eleven governances, one is the having and using of images in churches, and another is pilgrimage in going to the memorials or the mind places of saints, and that pilgrimages and offerings mowe be done well, not only privily, but also openly, and not only so of laymen, but rather of priests and of bishops And this I shall do by writing of this present book in the common people's language, plainly, and openly, and shortly, and to be cleped *The Repressing of ouer miche wyting* the Clergie* and he shall have five principal parties In the first of which parties shall be made in general manner the said repressing, and in general manner proof to the eleven said governances And in the second, third, fourth, and fifth principal parties shall be made in special manner the said repressing, and in special manner the proofs to the same eleven governances, though all other governances of the clergy, for which the clergy is worthy to be blamed in brotherly or neighbourly correption, I shall not be about to excuse, neither defend, but pray, speak, and write, in all patience and doctrine, that the clergy forsake them, leave, and amend

After this prologue, Pecock began his first part by finding the ground of much blame of the clergy by the laity in "three trowings," holdings, or opinions, of which the first was That no governance is to be held by Christian men as part of the service or the law of God, except that which is grounded in Holy Scripture of the New Testament, as some say, or as others say, in the New Testament and in that part of the Old Testament which the New has not revoked They who hold this trowing, said Pecock, "if any clerk affirmeth to them any governance, being contrary to their wit or pleasance, though it lie full open and full surely in doom of reason, and therefore surely in moral law of kind, which is law of God, for to be done, yet they anon asken, "Where groundest thou it in the New Testament?" or "Where groundest thou it in the Holy Scripture in such place which is not by the New Testament revoked?"

The second trowing, or opinion, from which Pecock

* *Wyting*, blaming First English "wítan"

traced much undue blame of the clergy, was this —"That whatever Christian man or woman be meek in spirit and willy for to understand truly and duly Holy Scripture, shall, without fail and default, find the true understanding of Holy Scripture in whatever place he or she shall read and study, though it be in the Apocalypse or oughwhere else, and the more meek he or she be, the sooner he or she shall come into the very true and due understanding of it which in Holy Scripture he or she studieth This second opinion they weenen to be grounded in Holy Scripture" Here Pecock quoted some of the passages on which it was based, adding that, "in other divers places of Scripture mention is made that God giveth good things to meek men more than if they were not so meek"

The third trowing, Pecock explained to be the opinion that no Christian should let reason of man overthrow the view of Scripture teaching that he or she had arrived at by such meek and faithful study This trowing was founded upon admonitions of St Paul, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, and in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians As Pecock quoted one of the warnings to the Colossians that was relied upon, the warning relied upon was, "See ye that no man beguile you by philosophy and vain falseness after the traditions of men and after the elements of the world, and not after Christ"

Against the first of these three trowings Pecock proceeded to argue for thirteen conclusions The first was that "It longeth not to Holy Scripture, neither it is his office into which God hath him ordained, neither it is his part, for to ground any governance or deed or service of God, or any law of God, or any truth which man's reason by nature may find, learn, and know" After setting forth six arguments to prove this conclusion, he drew from it as a corollary, "that whenever and wherever in Holy Scripture or out of Holy Scripture be written any point or any governance of

the said Law of Kind, it is more verily written in the book man's soul than in the outward book of parchment or of vellum, and if any seeming discord be betwixt the words written in the outward book of Holy Scripture and the doom of reason written in man's soul and heart, the words so written without forth oughten to be expowned and be interpreted and brought for to accord with the doom of reason in thilk matter, and the doom of reason ought not for to be expowned, glosed, interpreted, and brought for to accord with the said outward writing in Holy Scripture of the Bible or oughwhere else out of the Bible" Pecock referred to a previous book of his own on "The Just Apprising of Holy Scripture," in which he had dwelt on that Law of Nature which it is not the work of Scripture to reveal, and he drew an illustration from the country people who came into London on Midsummer eve with carts full of branches of trees from Bishop's Wood, and flowers from the fields, for decoration of the houses of the citizens in remembrance of John the Baptist, and of the prophecy that many should joy in his birth Did they think that the branches and flowers grew from the hands of the country folk by which they were given, or from the carts in which they were brought? Though Christ Himself and His Apostles were the bringers, "yet the men of London, receiving so those branches and flowers, oughten not say and feel that those branches and flowers grewen out of Christ's hands and out of the Apostles' hands For why in this deed Christ and the Apostles diden none otherwise than as other men mighten and couthen do But the said receivers oughten see and hold that the branches grewen out of the boughs upon which they in Bishop's Wood stooden, and those boughs grewen out of stocks or truncheons, and the truncheons or shafts grewen out of the root, and the root out of the next earth thereto upon which and in which the root is buried, so that neither the cart, neither the hands of

the bringers, neither those bringers, ben the grounds or fundaments of the branches, and in like manner the field is the fundament of those flowers, and not the hands of the gatherers, neither those bringers Certes, but if each man wole thus feel in this matter, he is duller than any man ought to be" So it is, said Pecock, with whatever we find of the natural law brought to us by Scripture It is not the purpose of Scripture to bring us those truths which we should have still though all the Scriptures were burned These belong to the Law of Nature, "they ben grounded in thilk forest of Law of Kind which God planteth in man's soul when he maketh him to His image and likeness"

The second of Pecock's thirteen conclusions against the first trowing of the blamers of the clergy, was that although Holy Scripture be not the ground of moral truths at which man's natural reason must arrive, "yet it may pertain well enough to Holy Scripture that he rehearse such now said governances and truths, and that he witness them as grounded somewhere else in the Law of Kind or doom of man's reason And so he doth (as to each reader therein it may be open) that by thilk rehearsing and witnessing so done by Holy Scripture to men, those men shoulden be both remembered, stirred, provoked, and exhorted for to the rather perform and fulfil those same so rehearsed and witnessed governances and truths" The third principal conclusion was that "the whole office and work into which God ordained Holy Scripture, is for to ground Articles of Faith, and for to rehearse and witness moral truths of Law of Kind grounded in moral philosophy, that is to say, in doom of reason" Of the Articles of Faith grounded in Scripture, some—as, that in the beginning God made Heaven and Earth—are not laws, and some—as, that each man ought to be baptised in water—are laws The next point in the argument—the fourth conclusion—was that, as it is not the part of Scripture to ground Laws of Nature, so it is no part

of the Law of Nature to ground Articles of Faith Nevertheless—fifth conclusion—as Scripture rehearses and enforces the moral Law of Nature, so treatises on natural religion may rehearse and enforce Articles of Faith which are not grounded in them The whole office and work of the books of moral philosophy is to express outwardly, by pen and ink, the truth, grounded on the inward book of Law of Kind, buried in man's soul and heart, and to rehearse some truths and conclusions of Faith, grounded in Holy Scripture, that the readers be the more and often stirred and exhorted by the recital of them That was the sixth conclusion, and the seventh went on to maintain that the greater part of God's whole Law to man on earth is grounded outside Holy Scripture in the inward book of Law of Kind Therefore Pecock's next conclusion was—his eighth—that no man can know the whole Law of God to which a Christian is bound, without knowledge of moral philosophy, and, ninth, no man without such knowledge could surely and sufficiently understand those parts of Holy Scripture which rehearse moral virtues not being positive Law of Faith From these followed the tenth conclusion, that the learning of the said Law of Nature, and of the said moral philosophy, is necessary to Christian men if they will serve God aright The Articles of Faith themselves rest upon Reason as well as Scripture, and the Sacraments of the Church, Pecock urged, would not be grounded on Scripture for our governance without the help of Reason, and unless the Law of God in Nature were joined to the Law of God in Holy Writ Pecock's eleventh conclusion was, therefore, that the laity ought to make much of clerks who had well studied that moral philosophy, and, twelfth conclusion, they should prize and study books based upon such assay and experience, which distinguished between those parts of the Law of God which are and are not grounded in Scripture, and between those truths of Faith which are and those which

are not laws His thirteenth and last conclusion against the first of the three trowings of the laity came then straight to the point that the question—"Where findest thou it grounded in Scripture?"—is only applicable to those governances of truths involving Articles of Faith To apply such a question to the statement of governance or truth grounded in Law of Nature or moral philosophy is, he said, as unreasonable as to ask Scripture authority for a truth in grammar, or to ask of a conclusion in saddlery—"Where findest thou it grounded in tailor-craft?" "And," said Pecock, "if any man be feared lest he trespass to God if he make over little of Holy Scripture, which is the outward writing of the Old Testament and the New, I ask why he is not afeared lest he make over little, and apprise over little, the inward Scripture of the before-spoken Law of Kind, written by God Himself in man's soul, when he made man's soul to His image and likeness?"

Pecock next proceeded to the discussion of texts usually quoted in relation to his argument He dwelt, also, on the effect produced upon those of the laity who had been enabled by Wyclif and his fellow-workers to read the Bible in their mother tongue They had found it "miche delectable and sweete, and draweth the reders into a devocion and a love to God, and fro love and deinté of the world, as ye have had herof experience upon such reders, and upon her now seid dispocioun" The delight and profit, and the lifting of their souls, led them to find all they needed in their Bibles, and to forget that there are truths of God written elsewhere, and Reason given to man wherewith to find them, and apply them to his use But Reason is fallible—Scripture infallible, to those who said, for that cause, Let not Reason be our guide, the next part of the argument was addressed This led to argument on the necessity of an instructed clergy, on the errors introduced by private exposition, that destroyed Church unity

From what seemed to him the first mistaken trowing of those who for their devotion to the Scripture as a rule of life were called the Bible men, Pecock passed to a brief discussion of the second and third trowing, for which his reply to the first had prepared the ground Then he went on to the eleven impugned ordinances of the Church which he had undertaken to defend, and the first of these, occupying the Second Part of his book, was the use of images, the going on pilgrimages, and veneration of relics Then came, in the Third Part, his vindication of wealth of the clergy The Fourth Part defended the Church government by bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and popes, and replied to the complaint of the Lollards that ecclesiastical laws, made by the high clergy, were set over divine laws The Fifth Part of the "Repressor" replied to the complaints against the religious orders—their existence, their dress, their stately houses, wealth in land—and ended with brief reference to the other five occasions of question namely, invocation of saints, church ornaments, as bells, banners, and relics, superstitious use of the sacraments, the use of oaths, and the approval of war by the clergy Pecock here referred also to the places in other works of his in which he had more fully vindicated the Church usage of his time

The point of view in Pecock's "Repressor" was that of a busy minded man, essentially religious, who maintained the ecclesiastical forms of his day by looking at what seemed to him to be their foundation in nature and reason He wrote with Christian charity, desiring to abate the bitterness of strife He endeavoured to start from first principles, and to show reason for change of opinion by that party in the Church which was intolerant of usages for which there was no direct warrant of Scripture, or which, like the custom of demanding oaths and the sanctification of war, were condemned as contrary to the express commands of Christ Pecock's design was to do for the English Church of his own day what

was done by Richard Hooker, at a later stage of the same controversy, for the Church in the time of Elizabeth, with equal charity and greater power Hooker wrote with more vigour in a time more vigorous, which needed arguments more valid than many which passed current among Churchmen and schoolmen of the fifteenth century Pecock's reasoning was above the standard of his day, though it could not approach the energy of English thought in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth He was defending also many usages and institutions against which, already in Elizabeth's day, time had proved the attack to be too powerful for the defence Pecock's appeal to reason in aid of a right study of the Bible was, in the fifteenth century, when the balance of culture was largely on the side of the clergy, an appeal to the less educated laity to secure unity of the Church by abandoning the right of private interpretation until they were as well qualified for it as the most cultivated Churchmen The desire for a Church that should be a stronghold of Christian unity was strong in him and strong also in those for whom "The Vision of Piers Plowman" spoke Perhaps the best of the Lollards or Biblemen, those afterwards called Puritans, admitting differences of interpretation that must follow upon the claim of every man to draw from his Bible what he himself felt to be its truths, looked rather to unity of Christian life, while on the opposite side it was felt that a necessary safeguard to the unity of Christian life lay in the unity of doctrine It is the purpose of this record not to assume that there is only one view of a question, but, so far as it touches the great controversy in its successive stages, and the subdivisions of opinion, to show in men of the most opposite opinions the same search for conditions that will help a people to come near to God, the same aspiration of the soul of man toward the source of light and life. In the quotations here given from Reginald Pecock it is noticeable that while he reasoned with the Lollards, he did not look at

the worst men of the party he opposed, but at the best seeking to understand their highest view of duty, and set forth the grounds of difference between himself and them Nowhere is there a better witness to the powerful effect produced upon the English people by Wyclif's work on the translation of the Bible than when Pecock traces the enthusiasm against which he reasons to the sweetness men found in the words of the Gospel coming to them in their mother-tongue, the charm that bound them to it, and the fervent yearning towards the ideal of a Christian life that it had suddenly awakened in their souls

CHAPTER IX

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE and Reginald Pecock represented, in days of the greatest weakness of our English literature in the fifteenth century, that unquelled spirit of the land to which we owe all we have won of civil and religious liberty Even when distracted by contending factions, England was advancing towards freedom The laws of the country were not based, like those of France, upon the will of the monarch, but on the will of the people through their representatives The soundness of the principle, however rudely applied, that made the people taxers of themselves, and themselves triers by jury of offences done among themselves, produced a contrast between the condition of an Englishman and of a Frenchman in this fifteenth century which was vividly described by Sir John Fortescue He saw them both, and justly ascribed to the political mixed government of England the exemption of the commonalty from those privations and oppressions which afflicted the French villagers, and of which his painful account is borne out by the according testimony of Philip de Comines

Sir John Fortescue

One of the descendants of the Richard le Fort who was recorded or fabled to have saved the life of the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings under shelter of his shield, and so established the family motto, "Forte scutum, salus Ducum," was Sir John Fortescue, the second of three sons of another

Sir John Fortescue, who was made Governor of Meaux after the taking of that town in 1422 John's elder brother, Henry, became Sir Henry Fortescue, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland from June, 1426, to November, 1427 He had lands in Devonshire, married two heiresses, having sons by each, and so founded two branches of the family of Fortescue in Devonshire

John Fortescue, famous as an early writer on the laws of England, is supposed to have been born, before the death of Chaucer, on his mother's estate, in the Devonshire parish of North Huish He was educated, Bishop Tanner says, at Exeter College, Oxford, studied law at Lincoln's Inn, where he was one of the governors in 1425 and 1426 as "Fortescue, junior," his elder brother Henry being then also of Lincoln's Inn He was "gubernator" again in 1429, and took the degree of Serjeant-at-law in Michaelmas term, 1430 As he says in the first chapter of his book on the laws of England that no one became serjeant-at-law till he had spent at least sixteen years in the study of law, it is to be inferred that he was not born so late as the year 1400 A poor man could not meet the expense of being made a serjeant Fortescue says that it cost him fifty pounds—a sum equal to about seven hundred in modern buying power—for gold rings, one having to be given to every person of any mark at all who might be present at his investiture with the white silk coif, besides liveries of cloth to many, and high feasting Seven or eight serjeants were appointed at a time, and each was expected, says Fortescue, to spend not less than two hundred and sixty pounds

Early in 1436 his wife is mentioned in a deed He had, within the preceding two or three years, married Isabella, daughter of John Jamyss of Philips Norton, in Somersetshire There were three children by the marriage,—a son Martin, and two daughters, Maud and Elizabeth—who married in the three successive years 1454, 1455, and 1456

Maud's marriage was unhappy She was deserted by her husband, and withdrew into the nunnery of Helveston, in Bedfordshire, where she died

In 1440 and 1441 Fortescue was a Judge of Assize on the Norfolk circuit, and at Easter, 1441, became one of the King's Serjeants On the 25th of January, 1442, without any intermediate step, John Fortescue was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and soon afterwards knighted The salary of the Chief Justice was 180 marks (£150), with 106 shillings and eleven pence farthing and one-eighth of a halfpenny for a robe with fur trimming at Christmas, and 66 shillings and six pence for a robe with its lining at Whitsuntide Two several grants were presently added of a yearly tun of wine, and in 1447 his salary was increased by forty marks, which should remain to him as life pension when he ceased to be a judge

The Chief Justice sat in 1443 upon commissions to inquire into disturbances at Norwich and in Yorkshire caused by Church exactions, and was thanked by the King's Council for his great labours in the matter For ten years he had the confidence of each Parliament as a trier of petitions In 1447, when he and his wife were admitted to the fraternity of the convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, the grounds assigned were that "He is a just man whom all intelligent people see to be just, follow with reverence and love as one who would help all and hurt none, injuring nobody, but checking those who would do harm" As one of the three chief judges, he was repudiated by Jack Cade, and was for a week in danger of attack by Jack Cade's followers He maintained, as a judge, the rights of Parliament against acts tending to their infringement by the sovereign He would not release a prisoner in Wallingford Castle, named Thomas Kerver, at bidding of the king In the case of Thomas Thorpe, Speaker of Parliament, whom the Duke of York had

silenced in 1453 by arrest and imprisonment in the Fleet on a private pretext, when the House next met and the Commons demanded their Speaker, the Lords referred to the judges, and Sir John Fortescue may have prompted the reply, in which he joined The reply was "that they ought not to answer to that question, for it hath not been used aforetime that the justices should in any wise determine the privilege of the High Court of Parliament, for it is so high and so mighty in its nature that it may make law, and that which is law it may make no law, and the determination and knowledge of that privilege belongeth to the Lords of the Parliament, and not to the justices"

In 1457 Sir John Fortescue bought the reversion of the manor of Ebrington, in Gloucestershire, which, though forfeited afterwards by his attainder, was in the end restored to him

After the Battle of Northampton in 1460, Sir John Fortescue maintained allegiance to the House of Lancaster He was present at the Battle of Towton, and fled with King Henry to Scotland and Wales The post of Lord Chancellor, which Fortescue claims to have held, he may have held in exile nominally, but without possession of the seals or valid authority

In the first Parliament of Edward IV, Sir John Fortescue, as one of those who fought at Towton, was attainted of high treason His possessions were forfeited to the king, by whom they were partly granted to Lord Wenlock On the 13th of May, 1461, more than two months after the Battle of Towton, Edward IV made Sir John Markham his Chief Justice* For two years he

* Thomas Fuller, writing of Markham in his "Worthies of England," says of him and Fortescue, "These I may call two Chief Justices of the Chief Justices, for their signal integrity, for though the one of them favoured the House of Lancaster, and the other the House

was in Scotland with the royal exiles In 1463 he was in Lorraine with the queen and prince, then ten years old (born on the 13th of October, 1453), "all in grete poverte, but yet the quene susteyneth us in mete and drinke, so as we buth not in extreme necessite" It was while thus an exile, at and near Bruges, that he wrote his most famous work, "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," for the instruction of the young prince This was in Latin, but he wrote also, in like spirit, a book in English on the "Difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy," or, as he calls them, "Dominium Regale" and "Dominium Politicum et Regale" In 1471 he returned with the queen to England, and on May 4th of that year was taken prisoner at the Battle of Tewkesbury, when the prince, his pupil, was killed After the king to whom he had been faithful and the prince whom he had taught were dead, Sir John Fortescue retracted all that he had written against Edward's title, and obtained in October, 1473, the reversal of his attainder He went to live at Ebrington, was living in February, 1476, and is said to have died at the age of ninety He left two daughters and one son, Martin, from whose two sons the present Earl Fortescue and Lord Clermont are severally descended

Writings against the title of Edward IV to the throne.

Sir John Fortescue wrote, when with Henry VI in Scotland, a piece in Latin against the title of Edward IV, "De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiæ," which was found in 1870 in Lord Calthorpe's collection of MSS by Mr Alfred Horwood, who was examining them for the Historical Manuscripts Commission The piece was first printed in 1877, with translation by Dr William Stubbs, now Bishop of Oxford, as an insertion at the beginning of the late Lord

of York, in the titles to the crown, both of them favoured the House of Justice in matters betwixt party and party"

Clermont's edition of the works of Sir John Fortescue, printed as a family memorial * He wrote also a larger work against the title of Edward IV, which was printed from a complete copy in the Lambeth Library,† also for the first time in Lord Clermont's edition, where there was added to it a translation by the Right Hon Chichester Fortescue This work is called "Opusculum de Naturâ Legis Naturæ et de Ejus Censura in successione Regnorum suprema"—a treatise concerning the Nature of the Law of Nature, and its Judgment upon the succession to Sovereign Kingdoms The problem with which it sets out is this "A king, acknowledging no superior in things temporal, has a daughter and a brother, the daughter bears a son The king dies without sons The question is, whether the kingdom of the king so deceased descends to the daughter, the daughter's son, or to the brother of the king" The argument proceeds to show that no human law, but only the Law of Nature, can determine this What is the Law of Nature? It is a Divine Law, and unchangeable Other laws follow it, kings rose from it, some just, some unjust, and here we come to the distinction between absolute and limited—regal and regal-political—monarchy They have kings whose power is equal, but when the political controls the regal their power is less harmful to their subjects The Law of Nature is one with natural justice, and law is related to it as the moon to the sun, having no light but that which shines

* "The Works of Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chief Justice of England and Lord Chancellor to King Henry the Sixth Now first Collected and Arranged by Thomas (Fortescue), Lord Clermont 2 vols royal 4to London Printed for Private Distribution 1869" Vol i contains the Life and Works of Sir John, vol ii, a "History of the Family of Fortescue in all its Branches" The insertion of 1877 in vol i is paged 59* to 90*

† There is also MS of its First Part among the Laud MSS in the Bodleian

therefrom And even the Divine Law of Nature cannot justify without the aid of Divine Grace Having discussed in this spirit the Nature of the Law of Nature in the First Part of his treatise, in the Second Part Sir John Fortescue proceeded to the answering of the question with which he set out, by arguments drawn from the Law of Nature And there he reasons that it is against Divine Law, Canon Law, and Civil Law, for the daughter of the king who died, or for the daughter's son by right of his mother, to succeed him on the throne

"De Laudibus Legum Angliæ"

Sir John Fortescue's Latin work upon the "Praises of the Laws of England" is the first which treats the abstruse subject of the principles of our law in a popular form It was written between the years 1461 and 1470, for the encouragement and direction of the prince in his studies, and to kindle in him a desire to know and understand the laws, a study for which "twenty years are barely sufficient" His chief object is to show the superiority of a constitutional over a despotic government He describes the antiquity of the customs of England, explains the form of enacting statutes, and shows the difference between our law and the foreign civil law, or law dependent upon royal will, in various respects, praising the English procedure, after an exposition of its principles that shows him to have seen into the soul of English political life, and to have been of one heart with the noblest men by whom it was to be developed in the future

Praises of the Laws of England *

In opening his book in praise of the Laws of England, Fortescue says that during the cruel rage of the late mortal wars within

* Fortescue's book, "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," was first printed in 1537 The next edition was in 1573, and in this the Latin text was published together with an English translation by Robert Mulcaster (not Richard, the Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School) This was repeated in the editions of 1575, 1578, 1599, 1609, and in 1616 with preface and notes by Selden In direct quotation I use Mulcaster's version.

the realm of England, the most virtuous and godly King Henry VI, with Queen Margaret his wife, who was the King's daughter of Jerusalem and Sicily, and their only son Edward Prince of Wales, was forced to fly the land The King himself afterward, in the same civil tumult, falling into the bloody hands of his deadly enemies, his own subjects, was of them committed to prison, where he a long time remained in strait captivity The queen and the prince her son were thus banished out of their country, making their abode in the Duchy of Berri, a dominion of the foresaid King of Jerusalem The prince, shortly after growing to man's estate, applied himself wholly to the feats of arms, much delighting to ride upon wild and unbroken horses, not sparing with spurs to break their fierceness He practised also sometimes with the pike, sometimes with the sword and other warlike weapons, after the manner and guise of warriors according to the use of martial discipline, to assail and strike his companions, I mean the young men that attended upon his person Which thing when a certain ancient knight, being Chancellor to the foresaid King of England, saw, who also in the miserable time did there remain in exile, he spake thus to the prince —

That is the whole of Fortescue's Introduction to the book The first chapter then tells how the ancient knight, who was Chancellor, moved the Prince to the knowledge of the law The Prince delights in arms as he is a soldier and shall be a king, whose office is to fight the battles of his people, and also rightly to judge them Let him give, therefore, as earnest zeal to the study of the laws as to the knowledge of arms, for as wars are ended by the force of chivalry, so judgments are determined by the law The Emperor Justinian saith in the beginning of his book that it behoveth the Imperial Majesty not only to be guarded with arms, but also to be armed with laws Moses charged the King of Israel to have the book of the Law with him, and to read it all the days of his life And the effect of law, said Moses, was to fear God, whereunto a man cannot attain unless he first know the will of God, which is written in the law This is not the fear that perfect love casts out, but the fear of the Lord of which the prophet said that "it is holy and endureth for ever," and of which Job said "Behold, the fear of the Lord is perfect wisdom, and to forsake evil is understanding" The Prince replied in the next chapter that this is true of the holy laws published by Moses, and the reading of them is a pleasant act of holy contemplation, but that law to the knowledge of which he was now counselled, was made by men concerning worldly matters, and of the two readings the cause is not like The Chancellor explained in the third chapter that man's law also is sacred according to the definition

which says that "The law is a holy sanction or decree, commanding things that be honest, and forbidding the contraries." Jus (right) is the art of that which is good and straight. So the ministers of law are *sacerdotes*, givers or teachers of sacred things, as Jehoshaphat said to the judges, "the judgments which ye execute are the judgments of God." The study of human laws, therefore, is not without a pleasant sweetness of holy consolation. "For which cause you ought, most worthy Prince, no less than the Kings of Israel, to be moved and provoked to be a diligent travailer in the study of those laws whereby hereafter you shall rule your people." The Chancellor goes on to prove in the fourth chapter, that a prince by the laws may be made happy and blessed. For all the ancient sects agreed that it is only virtue that causeth felicity, which, according to Aristotle, is, indeed, the perfect use of virtues. Man's laws are but the rules of Justice, the chief virtue, teacher of all others, and the thing whereupon all princely care dependeth. And yet the Law is not able to perform these things without the assistance of Grace, without the which also you cannot learn nor covet either law or virtue. The Prophet also says "Be instructed, ye judges of the earth,"* and you are bidden not only to get instruction, but in the first chapter of the Book of Wisdom it is written, "O set your love and affection upon justice, you that are judges of the earth." In the fifth chapter, the Chancellor proceeds to argue that ignorance of the law causes contempt of it. It is a common saying that *ars non habet inimicum, nisi ignorantem*. But God forbid, O noble Prince, that you should be an enemy to the laws of that realm which you shall by succession inherit! Use becomes second nature, wherefore you, Prince, when you are pleasantly delighted in justice—and therewith indeed, in respect of the perfection of the law—you shall worthily be called just. For which cause it shall be said unto you "Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore the Lord thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above the kings of the earth, thy companions." The Chancellor sums up his persuasion in another chapter, the sixth; and the Prince in the next yields himself up to the study of the laws, but has doubts upon two heads. First, considering the many years spent by the lawyers upon study of the law, shall he not have to give up to it the years of his youth? The other question is, whether he shall study English laws, or civil laws which throughout the whole world are chiefly esteemed. Ought he not to seek knowledge of the best? In his eighth chapter the Chancellor explains that a knowledge of principles could be obtained by the Prince in one year, though twenty years barely suffice

* Psalm ii. 10.

to enable a judge to get the exact knowledge required for administration of the laws of England No king of England has been known to pronounce judgment with his own mouth, although the judgments of the realm are his To know the foundation on which the law of his country rests, it is not necessary that he should search into deep mysteries Thus we think ourselves to have the knowledge of God's laws when we understand ourselves to know Faith, Charity, and Hope, and also the Sacraments of the Church, and the Commandments of God, leaving to the prelates of the Church the other mysteries of Theology

In the next chapter, the ninth, Sir John Fortescue answers the question of the Prince whether he should study English Law or Civil Law. He lays down the doctrine upon which, beyond all others, he insisted in training the mind of one whom he looked upon as heir to the throne of England, and whose murder in his eighteenth year after the Battle of Tewkesbury, on the 4th of May, 1471, was then among the secrets of the future The concern of an English king is with the laws of England "For the King of England cannot change the laws of his realm at his pleasure"—Then follows the distinction between absolute and limited—regal and political—monarchy, which Sir John Fortescue spared no labour to enforce "The King of England governs his people by power not only regal, but also political If his power over them were regal only, then he might change the laws of his realm, and charge his subjects with tallage and other burdens without their consent And such is the dominion which the Civil Law purports when they say the Prince's pleasure hath the force of law But from this much differeth the power of a king whose government over his people is political For he can neither change laws without the consent of his subjects, nor yet charge them with strange impositions against their wills Wherefore his people do frankly and freely enjoy their own goods, being ruled by such laws as they themselves desire, neither are they pilled either of their own king or of any other Like pleasure also and freedom have the subjects of a king ruling only by power regal, so long as he falleth not into tyranny Of such a king speaketh Aristotle in the third book of his Civil Philosophy, saying that it is better for a city to be governed by a good king than by a good law But, forasmuch as a king is not ever such a man, therefore St Thomas in the book which he wrote to the King of Cyprus of the Governance of Princes, wisheth the state of a realm to be such that it may not be in the king's power to oppress his people with tyranny, which thing is performed only when the regal power is restrained by power politic Rejoice, therefore, best Prince, that the law of your realm wherein you shall succeed is such For it shall assure to you

and your people no small security and comfort With such laws, as saith St Thomas, should all mankind have been governed, if in Paradise they had not transgressed God's commandment With such laws also was the Synagogue ruled while it served only under God as King who adopted the same to Him for a peculiar kingdom But at the last, when at their request they had a Man King set over them, they were then, under regal laws only, brought very low And yet under the same laws, while good kings were their rulers they lived wealthily, and when wilful and tyrannous kings had the government of them, then they continued in great discomfort and misery "

In the tenth chapter the Prince asks how kings can be equal, the power of one is limited by law, the power of the other absolute? Fortescue replies in the next brief chapter that he has treated of this in another work The work referred to is Fortescue's treatise on "The Nature of the Law of Nature," written to support the claim of the House of Lancaster, and sent out of Scotland within the years 1461 and 1463 The next two chapters treat severally of the origins of Regal and Political Government, after which the Prince, in the fourteenth chapter, sums up what he has learnt He has understood that no men did ever of their own free will incorporate themselves into a kingdom for any other purpose than the greater safety of themselves, and more secure enjoyment of their goods And of this intent should a people be utterly defrauded, if then their king might lawfully despoil them of their goods, which before was lawful for no man to do And the Prince presently adds, " Neither have I yet, good Chancellor, forgotten that which, in your treatise on the " Nature of the Law of Nature," you have with pithy reasons clerkly proved, concerning that the power of these two kings is equal Howbeit the power of the one, whereby he is at liberty to deal wrongfully, is not by such liberty augmented and increased, as to be in ability to decay and die is no ability, but in respect of the privation and feebleness in the thing it is rather to be called a disability because, as Boethius says, Power is only to good, so that to be of power to do evil—as is the King that regally doth rule, and that with much more liberty than the King that hath political dominion over his people—is rather a diminution than an increase of power " The Prince then yields himself to study of the Laws of England

The study begins with the division of all laws into Laws of Nature, Customs, and Statutes, and having given a distinct chapter to the explanation of each, the Chancellor proceeds in the nineteenth chapter to lay the foundation of distinctions between the Civil Laws and the Laws of England First he compares the sufficiency of two

witnesses according to the Civil Law with the requirement by the English Law of twelve sworn men living in the neighbourhood to support the opinion of the judge, and Fortescue points out the dangers of false witness and other inconveniences of that form of law which has not the safeguard of trial by a jury In the next chapter—the twenty second—Sir John Fortescue points out the cruelty of torture, used commonly in France under the Civil Law, to secure support to the testimony of doubtful witnesses, or to supply the want of witnesses After describing some of the horrible tortures applied by the judges in France, Sir John explains—"My pen is both weary and ashamed to rehearse the outrageousness of torments devised in this behalf For the number of them is so great that it can scant well be noted in a whole skin of parchment Moreover the Civil Laws, for want of witnesses, do fetch out the truth by rackings, and so do divers other countries too But who is so firm of mind that, being once released out of so cruel a rack, though he be innocent and faultless, would not yet rather accuse himself of all kinds of offences than again commit himself to the intolerable cruelty of the torment, and had not rather die at once (seeing death is the end of all miseries) than so often to be killed, and to sustain so many hellish furies painfuller than death itself? And did not you, most worthy Prince, know a certain offender who, in such torments, accused a worshipful—yea, a right good and faithful—knight of treason wherein, as he said, they two had conspired together, which treason, he him self being released from the rack, afterwards accomplished, thereby to acquit himself from coming to the torture again? Thus, O pitiful case! do many other wretches, not for the truth's sake, but forced thereunto by the extremity of torments And what certainty, then, can arise of the confessions of miserable, tormented persons? But if some innocent body, having his mind set upon eternal salvation, would in such a Babylonian furnace, with the three children, bless and magnify the Lord, and not lie, to the damnation of his own soul,—in that the judge pronounceth him unguilty, doth not that judge, by the self same judgment, judge himself guilty of all the cruelty and pains wherewith he hath tormented the innocent? O, how cruel is such a law, which, in that it cannot condemn the innocent, condemns the judge! Surely such a custom is not to be accounted a law, but rather the highway to the Devil! O judge, in what schools hast thou learnt to be present while the offender is tormented? I believe that the wound wherewith the mind of the judge thus tormenting any man is plagued, will never be healed again"

Other defects of the Civil Law having been noted, Sir John Fortescue

begins in his twenty fourth chapter an exposition of the Laws of England, by showing how counties are divided, and how sheriffs are chosen His next two chapters show how jurors are chosen and sworn, and how they should be informed by evidence and witnesses Then he proceeds to show, in his twenty-seventh chapter, how criminal causes are determined in England, where there are so many safeguards against an unjust sentence "I would rather," says Sir John Fortescue, "wish twenty evildoers to escape death through pity than one man to be unjustly condemned In proceeding by English law there is no cruelty used, neither can the innocent person be hurt in his body or limbs, wherefore he shall not stand in fear of the slander of his enemies, because he shall not be racked or tormented at their will and pleasure Thus under this law a man may pass his life with quietness and safety Judge you, therefore, most noble Prince, whether of these laws ye had rather choose if you should live a private life" In the next chapter the Prince assents to all this, but wonders that trial by jury, which is so good and commodious, is only a law of England, and is not common to all the world Then follows, in the twenty ninth chapter, Sir John Fortescue's loving description of his native land to the Prince, who came from it too young to know its quality Its fertility saves men from painfulness of labour, wherefore they live more spiritually, as did the patriarchs, which did rather choose to feed cattle, than to disturb the quiet of the mind with cares of husbandry Therefore they are more discerning than men wholly given to moiling in the ground Moreover, the same country is so filled and replenished with landed men, that therein so small a thorpe cannot be found wherein dwelleth not a knight or esquire, or such a householder as is there commonly called a franklin, enriched with great possessions, and also other free holders, and many yeomen able for their livelihoods to make a jury in form aforementioned For there be in that land divers yeomen, which are able to dispend by the year above a hundred pounds Wherefore the juries are often made, especially in great matters, of knights, esquires, and others, whose whole possessions amount yearly to five hundred marks But after this manner are no other realms of the world disposed and inhabited This position Sir John Fortescue proceeds to illustrate The Prince then commends trial by jury, but asks whether it be in accordance with God's law To this question Sir John's thirty-second chapter gives full answer The next question put by the Prince touches the fact that some of his progenitors, the kings of England, have not been pleased with their own laws, but have gone about to bring the Civil Laws into the government of England, and to abolish their own country's laws He wonders why they did so,

Here Fortescue, after pointing out the temptation of that doctrine of Civil Law which says the prince's pleasure has the force of law, goes on to paint in successive chapters Regal or Absolute Dominion as it is seen in France, and the Limited or Political Rule of a king of England; after which he compares the two. Of absolute monarchy he says, "Call to remembrance, most worthy Prince, after what sort you saw the wealthy villages and towns, as touching store of corn, in the realm of France while you were there a sojourner, pestered with the king's men at-arms and their horses, so that scant in any of the great towns there you could get any lodging: where of the inhabitants you learned that those men, though they continue in one village a month or two, do not, nor will not, pay anything at all, either for their own charges or for the charges of their horses. But, which is worse, they compelled the inhabitants of the villages and town dwellers whither they came to provide, of their own proper costs, out of the villages adjoining, wine and flesh for them, and other things that they needed, at dearer prices than they might have bought the same at home. And if any refused thus to do, they were anon, by plain Stafford law,* forced to do it. And when they had spent all the victuals, fuel, and horsemeat in one town, then those men went to another town, wasting the same in like manner, not paying one penny for any necessaries, either for themselves or for their harlots, whereof they ever carried about with them great abundance, nor for hosen or shoes, and other like, even to the best point or lace; but they compelled the townsmen where they tarried to bear all their expenses. And thus were all the villages and unwalled towns of the land used, so that there is not the least village there free from this miserable calamity but that it is once or twice every year beggared by this kind of pilling. Furthermore the king suffereth no man to eat salt within his kingdom except he buy it of the king at such price as pleaseth him to assess. And if any poor man had rather eat his meat fresh than to buy salt so exceptionally dear, he is immediately compelled to buy so much of the king's salt at the king's price as shall suffice so many persons as he keepeth in his house. Moreover, all the inhabitants of the realm give yearly to the king the fourth part of all the wines that their grounds bear, and every vintner the fourth penny of the price of the wine that he selleth. And besides all this, every village and borough payeth yearly to the king great sums of money assessed upon them for the wages of men at arms, so that the charge of the king's army, which is ever very great, is

* Law of the staff, or cudgel. Elizabethan translation of "*concuto fustibus cesi.*"

maintained by the poor people of the villages, boroughs, and towns of the realm. And yet, moreover, every village findeth continually two crossbows at the least—and some more—with all furniture and habiliments requisite for the king's service in his wars, as oft as it pleaseth him to muster them, which he doth very oft. And, these things not considered, other exceeding great tollages are yearly assessed upon every village of the same realm to the king's use, whereof they are no year released. The people being with these and divers other calamities plagued and oppressed, do live in great misery, drinking water daily, neither do the inferior sort taste any other liquor, saving only at solemn feasts. They wear hempen frocks much like to sackcloth, and hose only above the knee. Their women, too, go barefoot, saving on holidays. Neither men nor women eat any meat there, but only lard of bacon, with a small quantity whereof they fatten their pottage and broths. As for roasted or boiled meat, they taste none, except it be of the inwards sometimes, or heads of beasts that are killed for gentlemen and merchants. But the men at-arms they devour and consume all their poultry, so that they have scarcely the eggs left to eat for special dainties. And if they fortune at any time to grow somewhat wealthy in substance, so that any of them be counted rich, he is at once charged to the king's subsidy more deeply than any of his neighbours, so that in short time he is made equal in poverty with the rest of his beggarly neighbours." The gentlemen and nobles are not oppressed in this way, but if one of them be accused, even by his enemies, he is not cited before an ordinary judge, "but many times it hath been seen that he hath in that behalf been talked with in the king's chamber, or elsewhere in some private place, and sometimes only by a pursuivant or messenger, and as soon as the prince's conscience hath, through the report of others, judged him guilty, he is without any fashion of judgment put in a sack and, in the night season, by the marshal's servants, hurled into a river, and so drowned. After which manner you have heard of many more put to death than have been by ordinary process of the law condemned." The Englishman's right to his own house and goods, his protection by law against claim of the king by himself or by his servants to levy tallages, subsidies, or any other burdens, or alter the old laws, or make new without the express consent and agreement of his whole realm in his Parliament, the Chancellor next points out to the young Prince, and he contrasts the consequent well-being of the English peasantry with the cruel distress of the French. The English drink no water, unless it be so that some for devotion and upon a zeal of penance do abstain from other drink. They eat plentifully of all kinds of flesh and fish, they wear fine woollen cloth in all their

apparel, they have also abundance of bed coverings in their houses, they have great store of household furnishings and implements of hus bandry They are sued in the law only before judges, by whom they are justly treated These are the fruits of our mixed Regal and Political Dominion "Consider, Prince, whether it was not ambition, not, wanton lust that your progenitors esteemed above the well being of their country whenever they sought to change the laws of England into laws based on the pleasure of the ruler "

The Chancellor's next point of comparison is based on the fact that the Civil Law legitimates the child born before marriage, and gives it succession in the parent's inheritance The English Law does not This matter is argued by the Chancellor, and in chapter forty one the English Law is allowed by the Prince to be the better The third point of difference then taken up also concerns the question of inheritance The Roman Civil Law says that children are of the condition of their mother, English Law makes them of the condition of their father The last point teaches the Law of England concerning custody of orphans, and the Prince agrees in the forty fifth chapter that the English Law provides more warily for the safeguard of the pupil

One or two other points of difference are taken briefly, and the Prince then asks why it is that the laws of England are not taught in the English Universities The answer is that they cannot conveniently be so taught while Latin is the only language of the Universities through which knowledge is conveyed, because the study of the laws of England requires use also of English and French But they are conveniently studied in London, near to the King's Courts, in the Inns of Court The treatise ends with a description of the machinery for study and practice of the law in England The Inns of Court are described, and the great attendance of students, all of them English, though no student can be maintained for less expenses by the year than twenty marks (£13 6s 8d., equivalent to £150 in present value of money), and if he have a servant to wait upon him, then so much the greater will his charges be Now, by reason of this charge, the children only of noblemen do study the law in those Inns The poor cannot afford, and merchants seldom find it in their hearts to spare so much In the next chapter—of the estate and degree of a Serjeant at law—it is observed that England is the only country which gives a degree for study of the laws of its own land The next chapter, the fifty first, sets forth the manner of the creation of an English judge, tells how quietly the judges live, and adds, "it hath never been known that any of them hath been corrupt with gifts or bribes " The Prince objects then to the delays in the King's Courts Fortescue's chief answer is that delays are greater

in other countries A case of a Richard Heron and other merchants in the French Courts had been hanging ten years, and was like to hang another ten, and he says, "when I was lately abiding in Paris, mine host showed me his process in writing which, in the Court of Parliament there, he had then followed full eight years for a rent which in our money maketh not above eightpence, and yet he was in no hope to obtain judgment in eight years more, and I know other cases there like unto these, so that the laws of England, as it seemeth to me, cause not so great delays as the laws of other countries" Then follow some arguments against too much haste and upon the necessities and uses of delay, if it be not excessive, for many times in deliberation judgments grow to ripeness, but in over hasty process, never A sad story is added of an over quick sentence, whereof the judge had told Sir John Fortescue that he should never clear his conscience in this world A wife had been burnt for the death of her husband, some of whose servants afterwards were found to have murdered him a year before, the wife being wholly guiltless

The book ends with its fifty-fifth chapter, in which the Prince is reminded that what is required of a ruler is to know the principles of right and justice, not to master all the intricate details that arise during their application "Teach me, then," says the Prince, "the Principles of the Law of England For this law shall be evermore peculiar to me among all the laws of the world, among which I see it shine as Lucifer among the stars" So let us end with laud and thanks to God who is the beginning and the end thereof, and may all living creatures speak His praise

Thus the old knight who had been Chief Justice of England sought to shape the mind of an English prince that might become a king While Pecock, as a Churchman, carries our minds forward to the later reasonings of Hooker or of Locke, Fortescue, as a statesman, is anticipating the great arguments of the days of the Stuarts, and touches even the springs of the French Revolution of 1789 Pecock was silenced by imprisonment Fortescue taught as an exile

Sir John Fortescue's treatise on the "Difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy," or on the "Governance of the Kingdom of England," probably written after his return

to England, when Henry VI and his son were both in their graves, was not published until 1714 It repeats the distinction drawn in his "Praise of the Laws of England" between *Dominium Regale* and *Dominium Politicum*, but its particular object is to aid in the settlement of the monarchy after the close of Civil War, by discussion of the relations between sovereign and subject, the maintenance of the revenues of the Crown, restraint of excessive power in the nobles, development of health and wealth in the main body of the people

Other works of Sir John Fortescue

Sir John Fortescue's interest in questions of succession is shown by the place he gives to them in his praise of the English laws A question of succession to the Crown was, in his day, at the heart of a disastrous civil war His earlier work already mentioned "On the Nature of the Law of Nature," associated first principles of government with argument on that great question of the day, and he wrote also several papers in support of the claim of the House of Lancaster Another piece of his, not printed until 1869, was a Dialogue between Understanding and Faith, in which Understanding questions the justice that permits the righteous to suffer, and Faith speaks the mind of the old knight who, in all reverse of outward fortune, took God for his Father and his Guide.

CHAPTER X

DICTIONARIES AND TRANSLATIONS —LEGENDS AND FABLES —MINSTRELSY —SONGS AND BALLADS OF THE PEOPLE

Now we have reached the border line of English Literature before Printing Some pieces—paraphrases or translations —born on this side of the border, live on the other side among first issues of the English Press, and a few of them are left to be described in the next volume Translation from the Latin was assisted in the fifteenth century by dictionaries, of which two have been published One of them is called the *Promptorium Parvulorum* * Of this there are several manuscripts, and it was also among the early printed books, for it was printed by Richard Pynson in 1499, by Julian Notary in 1508, by Wynkyn de Worde in and after 1510 In our time it has been fully edited by Albert Way, from the text of the best MS † collated with three others *Promptorium* stands

The *Promptorium Parvulorum*

* "Promptorium Parvulorum, sive Clericorum Dictionarius Anglo-Latinus Princeps, Auctore Fratre Galfrido Grammatico dicto, ex Ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, Northfolciensi, circa A D MCCCCXL olim ex officina Pynsoniana editum, nunc ab integro, commentariolis subjectis ad fidem codicum recensuit Albertus Way, A M " Published by the Camden Society, 1865 A careful piece of editing, with much valuable annotation The book is one that should be ready to the hand of every student of old English An antiquary puzzled by the trade name of "Jordan Almonds," since no almonds ever came from the Jordan, solved the riddle at last by finding them in the Promptorium as "Iardyne almaunde, amigdalum jardinum," garden almond

† Harleian, 221, collated with other MSS, in the libraries of King's

in the title of this book for *Promptuarium*, which meant repository or storehouse The monastic buttery or cellar was called also the promptuarium, and this book is a repository, not of bottles, but of words with their equivalents in Latin The title was rightly worded in the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510, " Promptuarium Parvulorum Clericorum," as compiled for the help of the young who were being trained to service of the Church The compiler at the end, in giving the names of previous collections used by him, gives the date of the work, the place where it was written, and his own position there "These," he says, "are the authors from whose books the words in this little volume were collected by the Preaching Friar " (Dominican) " recluse of Bishop Lynne " (Norfolk) " in the year of our Lord 1440 " He explains in his dictionary the word "ankyr" by recluse ' Ankyr of a shyppe *Ancora* —Ankyr, recluse *Anachorita* " It is to be inferred, therefore, that he had taken special vows of seclusion He says that he has written the English of Norfolk, to which alone he has been used from infancy A copy of Pynson's edition in the Public Library at Cambridge agrees with the record left us by John Bale in naming the author as a Geoffrey, a Galfridus, who was called Grammaticus The *Promptorium Parvulorum* is the first English-Latin Dictionary in our literature, and it is probable that the first Latin-English Dictionary, called the *Medulla Grammatices* was compiled by the same hand There are more manuscripts of the *Medulla* than of the *Promptorium*, and great variations were made in them by the different transcribers The earliest

Medulla Grammatices

College, Cambridge, and of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill, and in the Chapter Library at Winchester A few readings were obtained also from a fragment in Harleian MS 2,274 In Albert Way's edition the separation of verbs from nouns is not preserved, and indications of old grammatical distinction of declension and conjugation of gender, &c , are omitted.

printed Latin-English Dictionary was that called the *Ortus* (hortus) *Vocabulorum*, but this was founded upon the *Medulla*

Another English-Latin Dictionary of great value in determining the sense of old English words now obsolete or little used, is the *Catholicon Anglicum*, of which one copy, not quite the earliest MS known, is dated 1483 Mr Sidney J H Herrtage, who has edited this book as a companion to the *Promptorium*, believes that some of the words used indicate that the work was compiled in the northern part of the East Riding of Yorkshire * The name "Catholicon" for such work had been first given to the most valued of mediæval dictionaries, the Catholicon or Summa of Johannes de Janua Giovanni dei Balbi, the author, a native of Genoa, finished his work in the year 1286, and it was one of the earliest of printed books, having been published at Mayence in 1460

Catholicon Anglicum

There is an old translation into twelve books of Chaucer's stanza, made in the earlier part of the fifteenth century from the Latin prose of a book on Husbandry written in the fourth century by Palladius, who once ranked next in authority to Columella Chaucer's musical stanza is applied to the delivery of a series of practical lessons on the management of farm and garden

Translation of "Palladius on Husbandry"

> "Us is to write tillinge of everie londe,
> With Goddés grace, eke pasture and housynge,
> For husbondry how water shal be fonde,
> What is to rere or doon in everything,

* "Catholicon Anglicum, an English-Latin word-book, dated 1483 Edited from the MS No 168 in the Library of Lord Monson, collated with the additional MS 15,562, British Museum, with Introduction and Notes by Sidney J H Herrtage, with a Preface by Henry B Wheatley, Esq , F S A" Published for the Early English Text Society, 1881.

> Plesaunce and fruyte the tilier to bring
> As season wol, his appultreen what houre
> Is best to set, is part of our laboúre"

The author of the book is unknown—perhaps he lived at Colchester. The English is East-Midland, and the book was edited in 1873 and 1879 for the Early English Text Society *

There is a translation, from the French, of "The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry," compiled for the instruction of his three daughters The original book was begun in 1371, and finished in 1372 Caxton printed a translation of it, but there was an earlier translation, less literal and more accurate than Caxton's, made in the reign of Henry VI, of which an imperfect copy remained unedited in a Harleian MS until Mr Thomas Wright became its editor, and it was published by the Early English Text Society in 1868 † The work was very popular as a body of good counsel to aid in the formation of a woman's character The ruins remain of the old castle of La Tour-Landry, between Chollet and Vezins, in Anjou The knight who wrote the book was a Geoffroy, elder son of a Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry He says that he was present at the siege of Aguillon, which was in 1346 He

"The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry"

* "Palladius on Husbondrie From the unique MS of about 1420 A D in Colchester Castle Edited by the Rev Barton Lodge, M A, formerly Rector of St Mary Magdalen, Colchester With a Ryme Index, edited by Sydney J H Herrtage, B A, Editor of Tusser's 'Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry'" Early English Text Society, 1873 and 1879

† "The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry Compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters Translated from the Original French into English in the reign of Henry VI, and edited for the first time from the unique Manuscript in the British Museum, with an Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright, M A, F S A" Early English Text Society, 1868

married Jeanne de Rougé, younger daughter of Bonabes de Rougé, Lord of Erval, Vicomte of La Guerche, and Chamberlain to the King He was in active service as a soldier in 1380, and again in 1383, when his first wife was living, but he was marrying again about six years later, and that is the last fact known about him The knight dates his book accurately The plan of it occurred to him, he says, when he was sitting pensively in his garden in April, 1371 He tells his readers also, that he employed two priests and two clerks in collecting from different writers illustrative examples He began to write in rhyme, but changed his mind before he had quite reached the end of the prologue, saying, "I wolde not sette it in ryme, but in prose, for to abregge it, and that it might be beter and more pleinly to be understond" As a moral story book of good and bad women, with tales from Scripture, fable, personal recollections, and history, packed into an amusing volume of good doctrine addressed especially to women, the knight's work was very popular, not only in France A translation of it into German appeared as "Der Ritter vom Turn" about the same time as Caxton's translation into English, it had many illustrations to enforce its way of teaching by story, and was often reprinted

Osbern of Bokenham

Woman's life was the theme, also, of a collection of legends told in verse by Osbern of Bokenham His thirteen legends are all stories of women whom the Church had canonised, and some of them are said to have been written at the request of women Osbern of Bokenham, whose metrical legends are written in the East Anglian dialect, was not of Bookham, in Surrey, as Dr Horstmann suggests, but of Bokenham Ferry, on the Yare, or, perhaps, Old Bokenham, now Buckenham Both are in Norfolk Old Bokenham is about three miles from Attleborough The name of the writer of the legends is not told by himself It is part of the information added

to the single MS * that has come down to us, a MS copied carefully by several hands, with such mistakes as are made by copyists who are more intent upon their handwriting than on the text they reproduce

The first Life in the collection is that of Saint Margaret, and its prologue says that it was written for a friend named Thomas Burgh, brother in a religious house at Cambridge A note added to the MS, after telling that the author was a Doctor of Divinity named Osbern Bokenam, an Austin Friar of the Convent of Stoke Clare, says that Thomas Burgh caused the book to be copied, in the year 1447, for his sister Beatrice, who was in a nunnery The note was written "in this holy place of nuns" after the death of both brother and sister, for a prayer is added that God may have mercy on their souls The latest possible date, therefore, for Osbern Bokenham's legends is 1447 Though the writer himself does not tell us his name, lest, he says, the work be blamed for his unworthiness, his diffuse prattle enables his readers to know that "certayn, the auctor was an Austyn frere" He tells us that he began his legend of Margaret—first in the series—on the 7th of September, 1443, and that his age was "ful yerys fyfty" He was born, therefore, not later than 1393 He tells us, when he writes the story of St Faith, that he was born on St Faith's Day—that is, the 6th of October He tells us that his birthplace was near an old priory of black canons that possessed a foot of St Margaret, flesh and bone, except the great toe and the heel, which were in a nunnery near Reading. It is for Norfolk antiquarians to seek the traces of that foot. From his convent of Clare, which is on the Stour, in Suffolk, he made more than one journey to Italy He speaks of himself in Rome, in Venice, and in the year 1445 he was a pilgrim to the shrine of St James, at Compostella

Osbern of Bokenham was a kindly man and an orthodox,

* Arundel, 327

who believed the legends that he told, and told them in an easy rambling way through facile verse Once, when he pauses for a rest, he says that his eyes are weary, and he could not see but for his spectacles, that his pen is tired of being nibbed,

> "For I so ofte have maad to grenne
> Hys snowte vp-on my thombys ende,"

is, nearly past service, and makes blots upon the paper He will rest till Michaelmas—it is not long, only ten days, for this is St Matthew's Eve—and when he does resume he begins, "Now myhilmesse-day is come and past," &c He evidently knows and loves the poets, though he says that he lays no claim to the craft of Galfride—

> "The forme of procedyng artificyal
> Is in no wyse ner poetycal
> Aftyr the scole of the crafty clerk
> Galfryd of Yngland in his newe werk,
> Entytlyd thus, as I can aspye
> Galfridus Anglicus, in hys Newe Poetrye"

Here the high praise that follows to Galfridus is not meant for Chaucer, but for Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who was called "Galfridus Anglicus," and whose Latin critical poem "De Nova Poetria" had long been praised as an authority in verse-making*, though Osbern thought it newer than it was But Osbern Bokenham names Chaucer when he says elsewhere, in his "Legend of St Agnes," that when he prayed Pallas for some favour to himself, she answered that he came too late—

> "—for gadyrd up be
> The most fresh flourys by personys thre—
> Of wych tweyne han fynysshyd here fate
> But þe þrydde hath Atropos yet in cherté—
> As Gower, Chauncer, and Joon Lytgate"

* "E W." iii, 189

Bokenham wrote sometimes in couplets, often in Chaucer's stanza, or in the *chant royal* (ababbcbc), which was, in France, chiefly reserved for sacred subjects He wrote fluently—too fluently—rhymed easily, and so blended a pleasant personality with his many words of little matter that his book is, at first reading, an agreeable companion to a good-natured reader But nobody would wish to read it twice Nothing could better illustrate that manner of the minor poets of the day which caused the good knight of La Tour-Landry, when he had begun writing in verse, to change his mind and write prose for the sake of conciseness *

"How the Good Wife taught her Daughter"

Appended to the St John's College MS of "The Bruce," in the same handwriting—transcribed, therefore, in 1487—is one of eight extant copies of a piece of verse for the instruction of women, entitled "How the Good Wife taught her Daughter" It was first printed in 1597 as "The Northern Mother's Blessing" This homely ideal of a woman as she ought to be—what makes her, though poor, a prince's peer—begins with the tender care due to her honour, "as farest ros soyne takis fadyng" She should be pious, lowly, and of few words, not loud of laughter and not cross of speech, ever about some good in the house, sweet, homely, simple,

* Bokenham's Legends were first printed in 1835 for the Roxburghe Club as "The Lyvys of Seyntys Translatyd into Englys be a Doctour of Dyuinyte clepyd Osbern Bokenham, Frer Austyn of the Convent of Stok Clare." The standard edition since published by Dr Horstmann is entitled "Osbern Bokenam's Legenden, Herausgegeben von C Horstmann" Heilbronn, 1883 An elaborate phonetic study of the Suffolk dialect in Bokenham's Legends by A Hoofe ("Lautuntersuchungen zu Osbern Bokenham's Legenden") will be found in *Englische Studien*, vol viii (1885), pp 209—254 There is also a disquisition on the sources of the Legends ("Die Quellen von Osbern Bokenham's Legenden") by Gotthelf Willenberg, of Marburg, in the same journal, vol xii (1889), pp 1—37

coy She should not hear or repeat tattle, nor give herself fine airs, nor be sumptuous in dress to beget envy If her clothes be costly according to her station, let them not be displayed for show, for after pride oft follows shame She must keep herself from ill folk and suspected places Young maidens should not be fed deliciously, and let them not

> " Ga to clerk playis, na pilgrimage,
> But thar be vith thaim vis folk of age " *

Nature is strong in maidens over seven years old, the subtle fiend makes pleasant acquaintance with youth and ignorance, that cannot calculate the peril until all is lost Keep them from gifts and love-letters, from public dancing, singing, running, let their play be within doors They are not to be seekers of high places at feasts—

> " Na our cleyn veschyn† on verk-days,
> Na on the verk-day gang to playis "

On holidays let their skins be clean, but not painted " to mend the mak that God has made "

> " Schaym is, to day be quhit and rede,
> And vallowit‡ on the morn as lede,
> But kep the hew of hir natur,
> For sic fairnes sall langast dure "

A good woman serves God, pities the poor, gives to none ill words behind their back, is apt for praise, not blame, loyal to her husband, always gracious to her household, sweet and debonair to all, doing all good deeds that are in her power She avoids going alone on errands, but takes a child or maiden in her hand, does not forget home work over long talking

* Unless wise elder folk be with them. † Nor washed too clean
‡ Faded, dull as lead

> "Hate nocht but gret caus manifest,
> The ferst luf euir be lufit best"

Maidens should be kept from the seeing of light women, and from cankered company, by which their young minds may take hurt—

> "Thow may in ȝouthede tys* a cheld
> That for na gold wald do it in eld"

Young lords are put under care till, in the course of nature, wisdom come to them Many misgoverned girls would become worthy women were there home care to guide aright and to chastise misdeed Poverty, too, brings women to wrongdoing They have no trades their friends must care for them—

> "Thai haue no craft, how suld thai liff,
> Quhen frendis will thame na thing gif?
> Than is thar nocht but do or de †"

Indian Fables and Tales, "The Seven Sages"

There is a MS of the fourteenth century ‡ containing a complete poem in octosyllabic verse, called "The Proces of the Sevyn Sages," and there is a large fragment of it also in the Auchinleck MS § It is a version of a collection of tales set in a narrative after the manner of the tales in "The Arabian Nights," and it became popular in our printed literature under the name of "The Seven Wise Masters" The history of this collection, in which the tales vary in different versions, begins in the far past In ancient India there were ethical tales of men and beasts that divided into the two streams upon which lie severally "The Tales of the Seven Sages" and "The Fables of Bidpai" (called afterwards in France "Pilpay") The oldest known collection

* Entice, lead on

† Die

‡ Cotton MSS Galba E ix.

§ "E W" iii, 281*n*

of Indian fables was the Pantscha-Tantra, a collection into Pantscha (five) Tantras, or sections It is said to have been first arranged by the Brahmins as a "Mirror for Princes," for the training of their chiefs in principles of wisdom and in the right art of governing a people Its origin is said to have been in birth stories of Buddha, professing to be his experiences when he came into life as a deer, as a monkey, eagle, or some other creature It is said to have been contained in thirteen books of such ethical teaching by parable, of which the "Pantscha-Tantra" gave five, the "Hitopadesa" four The "Hitopadesa" (which means, amicable instruction) of Vishnu-Serma now chiefly represents this ancient collection, and it has been translated or paraphrased into twenty languages Its tales were grouped into four sections, severally suggesting counsels on the Acquisition of a Friend, the Separation of a Favourite, Disputing, and Making Peace There was a translation in the sixth century into Pehlevi, or old Persian, by Abdullah Ibn al-Mokaffa, a Persian convert to Islam From this a version was made into Syriac about 570 A D, and another into Arabic In the first chapter of the original there is a fable of two jackals, who were named Karataka and Damanaka From these heroes of the opening fable the collection was called in an Arabic version "Kalilah wa Dimnah," softened from the Pehlevi form of their names, Kalilag and Dimnag There was probably another Arabic version direct from the Sanskrit From Arabic the collection was translated into all the languages of Islam It was translated into Greek by Simeon Seth, a Jewish physician at the Byzantine court in the eleventh century. From this followed old Slavonic and Croat versions A translation into Spanish was made in the middle of the thirteenth century by the College of Jewish translators of Arabic works of science, established by Alphonso the Good at Toledo. That was translated into Latin There was also

a translation into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel, and that, again, was translated into Latin by a converted Jew, John of Capua, about the year 1260, as the *Directorium Humanæ Vitæ, alias Parabole Antiquorum Sapientum* This is the source of nearly all the later versions of these fables in different languages of Europe,* as "Fables of Bidpai," or "Pilpay"

The Rabbi Joel who translated the "Kalilah wa Dimnah," translated also from the Arabic another book of tales derived from India, and as he believed that both books were by the same author, he ascribed the Fables, like the tales of men and women, to a sage Sendebad, which John of Capua read Sendebar There was a book of the "Seven Counsellors" or "Parables of Sendebar" or Sendebad An Arabian compiler of a chronicle from Adam to the year 1094 says that Sendebar was an Indian philosopher, who lived a century before Christ, M Loiseleur Deslongchamps,† who had especially studied these questions, cited two Eastern writers who place Sendebar in the third century after Christ These Indian tales were translated into Persian and Arabic, and from Arabic into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel, and into Greek under the name of Syntipas In all of them a prince, falsely accused by one of the wives of his father, is defended by seven wise men, who, for seven days, tell tales of the malice of women and the danger of condemning without proof From the Hebrew version, a monk, John, of the Abbey of

* See the excellent introduction to "The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai, the Moral Philosophy of Doni, by Sir Thomas North, whilom of Peterhouse, Cambridge, now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs, late of St John's College, Cambridge" In Nutt's "Bibliothèque de Carabas" London, 1888 Also Thomas Wright's introduction to the metrical romance of the "Seven Sages," printed for the Percy Society, 1845

† "Essai sur les Fables Indiennes, et sur leur Introduction en Europe," 1838

Haute-selve, in the Bishopric of Nancy, shaped early in the thirteenth century a Latin prose romance, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romæ*. This was the source of later versions into nearly all the languages of Western Europe. Herbert, a trouvère of the first half of the thirteenth century, made a free paraphrase of it in French verse, with substitution of new tales and many alterations in the old, under the name of Dolopathos (sufferer from fraud), which he gives to the king, one of whose wives dealt with his son as the wife of Potiphar had dealt with Joseph. Another trouvère made soon afterwards a closer metrical version from the Latin, and before the end of the thirteenth century this version was turned into French prose. Through these French versions the romance of the "Seven Sages," or the "Seven Wise Masters," found its way into English. The narrative that serves as thread on which to string the stories, tells of an Emperor—he was Cyrus in the Greek Syntipas, he is Diocletian in our romance—who gave his son Seven Masters to instruct him in the seven sciences. When he had studied seven years with wonderful success, the Emperor, who had been a widower, married again, and his new wife desired to see her well-taught step-son. Before he and his Seven Masters went to court they found by the stars that if the Prince Florentine, after coming to court, did not keep silence for seven days, speech would be fatal to him. They went to court, the Prince was silent, the step-mother became enamoured of him, he repelled her with signs of horror and aversion, she accused him in her anger, and required his instant death. The Emperor ordered his son to be stripped, scourged and hanged. The lords obtained delay until he should have been tried by an assembly of the nobles. The Empress, fearing the dumb man might speak, told at night a story to the Emperor to make him dread a rival in his son. Next day, when the nobles were assembled, the Prince was brought in, stripped for punishment, and still saying no

word for himself One of his Seven Wise Masters then came forward and warned the Emperor against a rashness that might bring unavailing remorse, as it was with the knight for the loss of his greyhound The Emperor wanted to hear how that was but could only get the story by promise of another day of respite to his son Then the wife told him a story at night to whet his wrath against his son But next day the second of the Wise Masters obtained for Florentine a second day's reprieve When all the Seven Sages had thus helped their pupil and the perilous seven days were passed, the Prince himself could speak He told a tale of his own followed by a relation of the conduct of the Empress, which she confessed to be true, wherefore she was immediately tied with her feet to her neck and thrown into a fire

Songs of the people

The songs of the people * were not silenced even by the civil wars of York and Lancaster Henry VI and Edward IV, and all English nobles of their time, had minstrels in their following England was excelled by no nation of Europe in the use of music, till the middle of the seventeenth century † That old English laymen's song of the middle of the thirteenth century, "Sumer is icumen in," which has been quoted in its place,‡ has come down to us with the musical notation of its time, the oldest piece in Europe of the music

* "E W" iii 80, 239-241, 246 248, 354

† Suppression by the Puritans inflicted hurts that might soon have been healed, if the revival had not been under the perverting influence of Charles II He disbanded the Court orchestra, set up a string band, asked from it nothing but dance music to which he could beat time and snap his fingers, and let an accomplished harp-player, unfortunate enough to be in his service, die for default of payment of his wages, and be carried at night as a pauper to his grave Better be stopped on the right road than sped on the wrong

‡ "E W" iii 246

of a people It was given as a six-man song that could be taken by fewer voices, and it has been described by a musician versed in the history of his art* as "the first example of counterpoint in six parts, as well as of fugue, catch, and canon, and at least a century, if not two hundred years, earlier than any composition of the kind produced out of England"

The craft of the old scóp and gleeman† remained in honour until near the close of the fifteenth century Their position early in the fourteenth century is shown by a decree of Edward II, issued in 1315, which directed sheriffs to see to the men who went into houses under colour of minstrelsy and other feigned business, and being received to meat and drink, were not therewith contented if they were not largely considered with gifts of the lords of the houses To restrain this, it was ordered that to the houses of prelates, earls, and barons none resort to meat and drink unless he be a minstrel, and of these minstrels that there come none except it be three or four Minstrels of Honour at the most in one day, unless he be desired of the lord of the house, and to the houses of meaner men that none shall come unless he be desired, and that such as shall come so, hold themselves contented with meat and drink, and with such courtesy as the master of the house will show unto them of his own good will, without their asking of anything. Of King Edward himself, it is told by John Stow,

* W Chappell, F S A, in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time a Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, illustrative of the National Music of England With short Introductions to the different Reigns, and notices of the Airs from Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Also a Short Account of the Minstrels The whole of the Airs harmonised by G A Macfarren" This very delightful home book, at which Dr Rimbault helped, has supplied part of the information given in the text

† "E W" ii 11, 12–44

of the following year (1316), that when he sat at table in Westminster Hall at the Feast of Pentecost, a woman dressed in the habit of a minstrel, riding on a great horse trapped in the minstrel fashion, went round the several tables acting the part of a minstrel, and then, going up to the king's table, placed on it a letter. Having done this, she saluted all the company and departed. The letter was a remonstrance to the king upon his favour to his minions and neglect of faithful servants. When the doorkeepers were rebuked for admitting her, their plea was that it never was the custom of the king's palace to deny admission to minstrels, especially on such high feast-days. In 1381, John of Gaunt established at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, a Court of Minstrels, on the pattern of a like annual court at Chester. It had a charter, which enabled it to elect annually a King of the Minstrels, with four officers under him, to decide questions of right among the minstrels and regulate their affairs through the five neighbouring counties. At the coronation of Henry V., in 1413, Thomas of Elmham records that the number of harpers was exceedingly great. When Henry V. prepared for his expedition into France, in 1415, his minstrels were expressly ordered to attend him. When he entered London in triumph, after Agincourt, the streets were hung with tapestry, and verses were sung in his praise; but the king stopped that singing, and ordered that in praise of the victors at Agincourt no ditties should be made and sung by harpers or others, for that he would wholly have the praise and thanks given to God. There is a song of Agincourt extant in one of the Pepys MSS. which has a chorus in three parts to the words, "Deo gratias, Anglia, redde pro victoria." At Henry V.'s Pentecost Feast, in 1416, the king ordered rich gowns for sixteen of his minstrels. The minstrels were well paid. At the annual feast of the fraternity of the Holy Cross at Abingdon, in 1430, each of twelve priests received fourpence for singing a dirge, but each of twelve

minstrels received two shillings and fourpence, besides diet and horse-meat, for his part in the entertainment In 1441 eight priests were brought from Coventry to assist at a yearly ceremony in the neighbouring Priory of Maxtoke, and were paid at the high rate of two shillings each, but on the same occasion six minstrels attached to the household of the Clinton family in Maxtoke Castle received four shillings each for their services, and supped with the sub-prior in the painted chamber

Song music and recitation of romances were maintained throughout the land by the continuance of this order of skilled entertainers during many years They were the living books, till books themselves were brought more readily into men's homes, as the slow and costly way of multiplication by hand copying was superseded by the printer Then they lost power, though they lived on with decreasing influence, and in the North of England had successors even in the present century The trained minstrels, scattered about the land, no doubt helped to maintain a high standard of skill in music and song among the people Singers abound in Chaucer's world The Squire who was singing and fluting all the day, could paint and write as well as joust and dance, had also the praise that "he coudé songés wel make and endite." The Friar harped and sang and played upon the rote, the rustic fiddle The Miller could sound a bagpipe. The Pardoner sang "Come hider, love, to me," and the Summoner sang bass to it The wife of Bath could sing and dance The poor scholar Nicholas, in the "Miller's Tale," had among his properties

> "a gay sawtrye
> On which he made anightés melodye
> So swetély that all the chamber rang,
> And *Angelus ad Virginem* he sang,
> And after that he sang *the Kyngés note*,
> Full often blessed was his merry throat"

In the same tale Absalon, the parish clerk, could

"pleyen songés on a small ribible,*
Therto he sang som tyme a lowde quinible,"

a "quinible" being descant by singing fifths on a plain song, as a quatrible was descant by fourths †

A MS collection of English songs and carols which seems to have been made for the use of a minstrel in the latter half of the fifteenth century, was in the possession of Mr Thomas Wright, and printed by him in 1847 for the Percy Society ‡ Among the songs in this collection are many Christmas carols, there is the tune of "Nowel, nowel, nowel, this is the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel," there are love songs, jests also against women, and songs in praise of good eating or drinking One of the songs has a burden, which we shall find used at the beginning of the next century, with a fine development of its theme by the chief poet of his time in Scotland Its theme is—

"In what estate so ever I be,
Timor mortis conturbat me,"

and these are some of its verses —

"As I went in a mery mornyng,
I hard a byrd bothe wep and sing,
Thys was the tenowr of her talkyng,
Timor mortis conturbat me

* Three stringed fiddle

† W Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time"

‡ "Songs and Carols, now first printed from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century Edited by Thomas Wright" There is in the British Museum a similar, but less complete collection of such pieces, in the Sloane MS, No 2,593, usually ascribed to the reign of Henry VI Of earlier date—about 1310—there is the collection of songs in the Harleian MS, 2,253, of which see "E W" iii 354

"I askéd that byrd what sche ment
I am a musket* bothe fayer and gent,
For dred of deth I am al schent
Timor mortis conturbat me

"Whan I schal dey I know no day,
What contre or place I can not say,
Wherfor thys song syng I may,
Timor mortis conturbat me

* * * * * * *

"God graunt us grace hym for to serve,
And be at owr end whan we sterve,
And frome the fynd He us preserve,
Timor mortis conturbat me"

"The Nut Brown Maid"

Ballad literature † came into strong life in Europe during the thirteenth, and especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

To the end of the fifteenth century belongs the charming dialogue-ballad of "The Nut Brown Maid" She was a baron's daughter, and her love had been won by a suitor who came as "a squyer of lowe degree" Her faith was tried by her lover's feigning himself one who must die or fly as an outlaw to live by his bow like Robin Hood As he urged the difficulties and dangers that must part them, in stanzas ending with the refrain, "For I must to the greenwood go, alone, a banished man," the Nut Brown Maid met every argument with faithful resolve to bear all and follow him, the stanzas in which she answered closing steadily with the refrain, "For in my mind, of all mankind, I love but you alone" When she had borne the trial of her faith, she learnt that "the squire of low degree" was neither squire nor banished man, but an earl's son, come to marry her and take her to Westmorland, which was his heritage

* *Musket*, a small hawk When firearms were at first named for their terror or swiftness of flight from monsters or birds of prey, this hawk was made name-father to a weapon

† "E W" iii 246, 251

The ballad ended with a moral like that attached by Petrarch and Chaucer to Boccaccio's tale of the "Patient Griselda,"*

> "For sith men wolde that wymen sholde be meke to them eche on,
> Much more ought they to God obey, and serve but hym alone."

The ballads of "The Battle of Otterburn" and "Chevy Chase" do not remain to us in their first form There is no copy of them written so early as the fifteenth century, to which doubtless they belong The battle of Otterburn was fought on the 19th of August, 1388, between Scots under James Earl of Douglas, and English under the two sons of the Duke of Northumberland It began with a sudden entering of England by the Earl of Douglas with 3,800 men, who advanced to Brancepeth, ravaging the country they passed through In the warfare against English settlements in France such a raid was called by the French allies of Scotland a *chevauchée*, and, by a common process, that name was corrupted into Chevy Chase It lives yet among schoolboys as a "chivy" Now, since there are in Northumberland Cheviot Hills as well as an Otterburn, Chevy Chase was interpreted into the Hunting of the Cheviot The old ballad of the "Battle of Otterburn," or "Chevy Chase"—the battle of the *chevauchée* which was its cause—was therefore recast as "The Hunting of the Cheviot," always with some confused sense of identity between one incident and the other † The

"Chevy Chase"

* "E W " v 342

† In the oldest extant version of ' Chevy Chase," the name means "the Cheviot hunting-ground " This version is in a manuscript in the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford It was printed by Thomas Hearne, in the year 1719, in his preface to an edition of William of Newbury's "Chronicle " Its date seems to be about 1500, and if not the original, it is much nearer to the original than the version given in Percy's "Reliques," and perhaps it may be the same of which Sir Philip Sidney said, "I never heard the old song of ' Percy and Douglas ' that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet , and yet it is sung

battle of Otterburn is an incident minutely described by Froissart, but there is no record whatever of any similar battle that arose out of a Hunting on the Cheviots The author of the ballad of the "Hunting" was, in fact, quite right when he said—

> "This was the Hontynge of the Cheviot,
> That tear began this spurn
> Old men that knowen the grownde well yenough
> Call it the Battell of Otterburn"

Political Poems and Songs

Of our Political Poems and Songs from the accession of Edward III in 1327, to that of Richard III in 1483, a collection has been made by Thomas Wright* Many of the earlier of these pieces are in Latin verse, a few are in French, beginning with the "Vows of the Heron"† A poem on the Jack Straw Rebellion of 1381 is in alternate lines of English and Latin

> "Owre kyng hadde no rest,
> *alii latuere caverna,*
> To ride he was ful prest,
> *recolendo gesta paterna,*
> Jak Straw down he kest
> *Smythfeld virtute superna*
> Lord, as thou may best,
> *regem defende, guberna*"

Jack Upland

In 1401 there was a popular indictment of the corruption of the Friars in the name of Jack Upland—a name used to represent a simple countryman—of which the language and versification were much corrupted

but by some blind crowder" (fiddler) "with no rougher voice than rude style"

* "Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III Edited by Thomas Wright" 2 vols, 1859, 1861, in the Rolls Series of 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages"

† "E W" iv 257

before its first appearance in an early folio of Chaucer "Frere," says the writer, "if thine order and rules be grounded on God's law, tell thou me, Jack Upland, that I ask of thee, and if thou be or thinkest to be on Christ's side, keep thy patience Saint Paul teacheth that all our deeds should be done in charity, and else it is nothing worth" Then question followed question, and many a question opened with "Frere, what charitie is this?" A reply was made on behalf of the Friars by one calling himself Friar Daw Topias* For of Jack's questions, he says—

> "ffor summe ben lewid, summe been shrewed,
> Summe falsli supposid,
> and therfore shal no maister,
> ne no man of scole,
> be vexid with thy maters,
> but a lewid frere
> that men callen frere Daw Topias,
> as lewid as a lake,
> to medelen with thi malice,
> As longe as thou wolt'

The writer of Jack Upland then answered again each answer to his questions, soon observing that the answerer is rightly called Daw, and dubbing him Jack Daw The defence of the conventual life was meant to serve among the people as an antidote to Jack Upland's attack, with a sort of good-natured contempt, rather than angry bitterness, for the attacker But Jack Upland's rejoinder is more violent in tone

There are several poems also on the Civil Wars, in Chaucer's stanza, one on the recovery of the throne by Edward IV † The "Balet of the

Songs of War and Trade

* The Reply of Friar Daw Topias, with Jack Upland's Rejoinder, are given in the second volume of "Political Poems," from a MS in the Bodleian, No 41, fol 2, r°

† Brit Mus MS, Reg 17D xv, fol 327, r°

King" closes each stanza with "Thy wille be doo", or, now and then, a variation like to that in sense and rhyme, as "the will of God was soo"

Even the substance of a tract on principles of commerce might in the fifteenth century find its way into verse, and we have in the reign of Edward IV a rhymed abstract of an older prose tract, the "Libel of English Policy," upon maintenance of the power of England by her ships and by her trade in wool Three things are needful to man meat, drink, and clothing Herein our gain

> "ffor thow thei have met, drynke, in every kynggés londe,
> Yet they lacke clothe, as y undyrstande,
> And for to determyn that the trouthe ýs so
> Lestyn wel to me, and ye moste acord therto
>
> "For the marchauntés comme oure wollys for to bye,
> Or ellés the cloth that is made theroff sykerly,
> Oute of dyversé londés fer beyond the see
> To have thyse merchaundyss into theyr contré *

And so forth When the rhymer and the reciter were the chief diffusers of opinion, the political economist of those days willingly took rhyme into his service They were days when it was worth while to make the ballads of the country And there is some reason to think that some of the best of them were made by women †

* The MS is in Brit Mus, Lansdowne, No 796, fol 2

† See the Introduction to "Ancient Danish Ballads, translated from the Originals" by Dr R C Alexander Prior 3 vols, 1860

CHAPTER XI.

HUCHOWNE—BLIND HARRY—ROBERT HENRYSON

HUCHOWNE, of the "Awle Ryale," is a poet named with honour by Andrew of Wyntoun, in the twelfth chapter of the fifth book of his "Orygynale Cronykill" of Scotland.* Wyntoun refers to a mistake which he may be supposed to have made—

Huchowne

> "Syne Huchowne of þe Awle Ryale
> Intill hys Gest hystoryale
> Cauld Lucius Hiberius Emperoure,
> Quhen Kyng of Brettane was Arthoure,"

and he differs from Huchowne by speaking of Lucius Iberius as not Emperor in the time of King Arthur, but Procurator, and of Leo as the Emperor In this Wyntoun says that he has rightly followed the best authorities, the mistake is not his —

> "Fra blame þan is the Autore quyte,
> As before him he fand, to wryte
> And men off gud dyscretyowne
> Suld excuse and love Huchowne,
> That cunnand was in literatûre
> He made the gret Gest of Arthure
> And the Awntyre off Gawane,
> The Pystyll als off Swete Swsane
> He wes curyws in hys style,
> Fayre off fecund, and subtylle,
> And ay to plesans and delyte
> Made in metyre mete his dyte,

* "E W" vi 53

> Lytil or nocht nevyrtheles
> Waverand fra the suthfastnes "

Huchowne's confusion between Emperor and Procurator is a little further excused, and then there is an account of Huchowne's "Gest of Arthure," which distinctly defines the alliterative poem of the "Morte Arthur," which was described in the third chapter of the present volume * This has been shown by Dr Moritz Trautmann, of Leipzig, whose research in aid of an identification of the writings of Huchowne has been set forth in a convincing paper † He gives reason for rejecting every attempt to ascribe to Huchowne other works than those named by Andrew of Wyntoun, and he believes—I think rightly—that Wyntoun has named only two works one being the "Geste of Arthure and the Awntyre of Gawane,"—for an adventure of Gawain forms a large episode in the poem of the 'Morte Arthure," which accurately corresponds with the description of "the Geste of Arthure, '—the other work being the "Pystyll of Swete Swsane," a poem printed by David Laing in 1822,‡ which sets forth the story of Susanna and the Elders This piece ends with the lines—

The "Pystyll of Swete Swsane"

> "This ferlys bifel
> In the days of Danyel
> *The Pistel* witnesseth wel
> Of that profete "

Can this be Huchowne's "Pystyll of Swete Susan"? It is, and it confirms the identification of the "Morte Arthure",

* "E W" vi 62, 63

† "Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke" Anglia Vol I, 1878, pp 109 149

‡ In "Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland" There were eight parts forming the volume, containing in all twenty five pieces Unfortunately, the edition was limited to 108 copies There were only 75 copies printed of Laing's next collection (published in four parts, 1823-1825) of forty two pieces from the seventeenth century

for whoever wrote one of the pieces wrote the other The dialect of a poem can be disguised by a transcriber who translates it into inflexional forms with which he is familiar Thus the dialect of the "Morte Arthur," as we have it copied by Robert Thornton and preserved in Lincoln Cathedral, has suffered considerable change Dr Trautmann rightly observes that in this respect manuscripts easily become more or less changed in the course of copying, but that words and phrases which make part of a writer's mind, and are characteristic of his way of speaking, though their inflexions may be altered, would commonly themselves be left Considering the shortness of the "Pystyll of Swete Susane," the number and the nature of correspondences of word and phrase between the two poems is convincing evidence that they were written by one man *

The "Geste of Arthure"

* Among the words cited by Dr Trautmann as found in both pieces are *frape*, company, troop, *pomeri*, fruit garden, *fodemed*, produced, *flayre*, smell, *sert*, desert, merit, *stoteyd*, become mad, *herbergages*, lodgings, and among the phrases —

Susan	*Mort Arthure*
He was so lele in his lawe	They were lele in their lawe
Bretenet and brent	Brettenede or brynte
Renkes reneyed	Renayede renkes
Heo wyled hir wenches away	He myghte wyle him away
Heo ne schunte for no schame	He ne schownttes for no schame
I am sakeles of syn	It es sakles of syne
Don out of dawen	Done of dawes.
Kevered upon hir kneos	Coveride on his knees
Heef hir hondes on high, biheld heo to hevene	Hewys hys handys on heghte, and to the heuene lokes
All the frape	Alle the frappe
Thou sette uppon sevene	Thus he settez on seuene
Thar us not be ferde	Him thare be ferde for no faces*
Ruydely rored	Roris fulle ruydlye
For fulthe of thi falsed	For fylth of thi selfene
Warp of hir wedes	Warp off hys wedez

But if we take any of the other pieces that have been provisionally assigned to Huchowne by their editors, we find in them an equally distinct absence of this correspondence in the use of words Dr Richard Morris has suggested that the "Morte Arthure" was written by the author of "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght,"* who was author also of "The Pearl," "Cleanness," and "Patience"† A similar comparison of the vocabularies of these poems entirely confirms Dr Morris's opinion that "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght" was written by the author of "The Pearl" and of the other two alliterative poems that are found in the same manuscript, but it shows as clearly that the vocabulary of the author of the "Morte Arthure" was that of another man ‡ Evidence of this kind, from the presence

* "E W" vi 58-61 † "E W" iv 144-149

‡ Here is a list of words found by Dr Trautmann to be common to "The Pearl," "Cleanness," "Patience," and "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght," in evidence of single authorship Not one of these words has been used by Huchowne in the "Morte Arthure" —*aquyle*, to obtain, *asyse*, form, fashion, *avaye*, to show, *bantels*, posts, pillars, *bleaunt*, a robe of fine linen, *bene*, fair, *blysne*, to shine, *bole*, trunk of a tree, *bolne*, to swell, *bonerte*, goodness, *borne*, stream, water, *breue*, to tell, *burde*, behoved, *byȝe*, crown, ring, *carpe*, speech, *debonere*, gracious, courteous, *debonerte*, goodness, *deuoyde*, to do away with, destroy, *douth*, noble, *drwry*, love, *enurne*, to adorn, *eþe*, easy, *expoun*, to expound, *flot*, company, *foysoun*, plenty, *fyldor*, gold thread, *fyne*, to cease, *gent*, gentle, *gote*, stream, *laste*, to follow, *leþe*, *lyþe*, to assuage, lessen, *mote*, castle, *parage*, kindred, rank, *reflair*, smell, *reken*, beautiful, merry, *rounde*, noise, *schymere*, to shine, *serlypes*, separate, *stalle*, to bring, place, *sulpe*, to soil, defile, *sware*, to answer, *teme*, to approach, *þede*, country, *þriuen*, prudent, wise, *wayne*, to give, gain On the other hand, here are words characteristic of the vocabulary of the "Morte Arthure," each of them used three times, some used as often as twenty times, which were never used by the writer of "The Pearl," "Patience," "Cleanness," and "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght" —*austerene*, stern, *bacenet*, cap of steel, *bragge*, to blow (in a trumpet), *broche*, to pierce, stab, *chalkwhite*, *devyse*, to divide, *entame*, to wound, *escheue*, to

or absence of five or six words—unless habitual use be shown in five or six cases of different words to represent simple conceptions—may easily mislead, but here the evidence of difference of authorship is full enough to be conclusive If it be said that "Morte Arthure" is a tale of knighthood which has little in common with a religious poem like "The Pearl" so that we should not expect agreement in language, it is to be replied that "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knyght" is a tale of knighthood, which, being by the same author, has agreement in language with the three religious pieces, and has not such agreement with the other tale of knighthood, "Morte Arthure"

"The Destruction of Troy," edited by Mr Panton and Mr Donaldson as the "Geste Hystoriale," and assigned by them, together with "Sir Gawayne" and the three alliterative pieces, to Huchowne, appears under the same process of comparison to be a distinct work, written neither by Huchowne nor by the author of "The Pearl" "Golagros and Gawayne," and the "Aunters of Arthur at the Tarnewathelan," submitted to the same process of inquiry, separate also from each other and from the pieces by the author of "The Pearl" This clearly shows that "Sir Gawayne

attain, to retreat, *eynes*, narrow passages, *fewtere*, rest for the lance, *fewture*, to lay the lance in rest, *frape*, company, troop, *frythe*, to spare, *gadlinges*, worthless fellows, *galyard*, gay, *gesserawnte*, coat of jazerain, *grehownde*, greyhound, *grisly*, horrible, *harageous*, violent, *jagge*, to chop, *jorne*, a day's work, *lyghame*, body *malle*, to hammer, beat *medille erthe*, world, *nedes*, business; *oche*, to hack, break, *overlynge*, lord, *owte-landes*, foreign countries, *owttrage*, to overcome completely; *prikkere*, rider, *ryot*, to ravage, *ryotous*, *ruyde*, *-ly*, rude, -ly, *ryndes*, trees, *schaftmonde*, a measure, *scheltron*, troop, band, *seuennighte*, week, *soppe*, crowd, company; *stale*, company, troop, *strandes*, waters, *swarthe*, grassy ground, *teraunt*, wicked or cruel man, *treunt*, to steal a march, *umbrere*, part of a helmet, *unwynly*, unpleasantly, *wandrethe*, woe, sorrow, *wyderwyne*, adversary, *wyghte*, vigorous

and the Grene Knight," "The Pearl," "Cleanness," and "Patience" are all from the same hand, and that the two pieces proved to be by one author, the "Geste of Arthure" (or the "Morte Arthure"), and "The Pystyll of Swete Susane," are work of another hand

The evidence of Huchowne's authorship does not rest only on coincidence in subject between these two pieces from one hand and the pieces named by Wyntoun as Huchowne's The evidence is made complete by a close correspondence of the matter of the "Morte Arthure" with the "Geste of Arthure" as described by Wyntoun —

> "Of Arthowris gret douchtynes,
> His wyrschype and his prys proues,
> His conqwest, and hys ryalle state,
> As in this Buk befor I wrate,
> How he held in till hys yherys
> His Tabyll Round with hys Dowchs perys,
> How that he tuk syne his wayage
> Fra Lucyus had send hym the message,
> Till Ytaly with hey mychtys
> Off kyngys, lordys, and off knychtys,
> And discumfyte the Empryowre,
> And wan gret wyrschype and honoure
> Off Frawns neré the bordwrys sete,
> In were as thai togyddyr mete,
> And off tresowné till hyme done
> Be Modred hys systyr sone,
> Quharfor in hast he come agayne,
> And wyth hym fawcht intill Brettayne,
> Quhare he and his Round Tabyll qwyte
> Wes wndone and discumfyte,
> Huchown has tretéd curyowsly
> In Gest of Broyttys auld story"

Andrew Wyntoun even goes on to suggest that he has been able to follow Huchowne in this part of his story, because it agrees with the old records, but for the rest of his poem he does not find the same historical founda-

tion, and, therefore, has not followed it The details of the death of Arthur in the poem are, in fact, outside the record of the old authorities Yet more evidence that this "Morte Arthure" was Huchowne's poem, which Wyntoun had before him when he wrote his chronicle, lies in the fact that Wyntoun's account of the lands conquered agrees with the "Morte Arthure" in omitting these lands which were named in the old records, that is to say, named by Geoffrey of Monmouth, or in the Brut of Wace or Laȝamon —Island, Winetland, Bologne,] Beiri, Anjou, Auvergne, Loheraine and Gascony and it agrees with the "Morte Arthure," which we may now fairly ascribe to Huchowne, in giving these names, which are not to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace or Laȝamon — Brabant, Guienne, Hennegau, Holland, the Islands, Normandy, Swyne (in Wyntoun, Swes) and Swetherwyke, and of these names "Borgoyne and Brabant," "Hennegau and Holland," "Swynne (Swes) and Swetherwyke," are linked by alliteratives in Wyntoun and in Huchowne

Huchowne of the Awle Ryale belonged to the Court, and was a poet Only one poet of those days answered to that description and bore the name of Hugh or Hugon That was Sir Hugh of Eglinton, who in 1361 was one of the justiciaries of Lothian, and in 1367 was one of the commissioners to treat for peace with England He could, with special fitness, be described as "of the Awle Ryale," for he had married a sister of King Robert II, and was thus closely connected with the royal family of Scotland His wife was Egidia, daughter of Walter Stewart, and widow of Sir James Lindsay of Crawford, who had died about 1358 Robert II, when he came to the throne in 1371, made grants of land to his brother-in-law, making them, as he said in his charters, "dilecto fratri suo Hugoni Eglintone, militi" Sir Hugh is supposed to have died about the year 1381 It is very reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Wyntoun's

Huchowne, or Hugone, was the poet described twenty or thirty years after his death in a Lament for the dead poets of Scotland as "The good Sir Hugh of Eglinton"

John Mair (Latinised Major) a Scottish historian who was one of the teachers of John Knox, and who was born in 1469, says, incidentally, in the fifteenth chapter of the fourth book of his History of Great Britain, which joined Annals of Scotland to those of England, that in the time of his infancy, the story of the deeds of William Wallace was put into verse of the country by Henry, a man skilled in minstrelsy of the people, who was blind from birth, and who deserved the living that he earned afterwards by reciting it before the nobles There is not much more known about this poet In the accounts of the King's treasurer under James IV, between April, 1489, and January, 1492, entries are found cf several payments of five, nine, and eighteen shillings to "Blin Harye," and in the "Lament" just now referred to, which was printed in 1508, under the same name of "Blind Harry" he was numbered with the dead He died, therefore, at some date between January, 1492, and 1508, probably not long after 1492, if not in that year The only known manuscript of his poem is that already referred to, which contains John Ramsay's copy of "Wallace," joined to his second transcript of "The Bruce" That manuscript is dated 1488 Blind Harry's "Wallace," therefore, was placed upon record at least four years before its author's death, and may possibly—it is a poem of nearly 12,000 lines—have been written from his dictation, or from the memory of parts of it by other minstrels who recited this or that adventure out of it among the people

Blind Harry

Blind Harry says at the end of his "Wallace," that he based his poem on a Latin history by Wallace's chaplain, Blair, that is to say, John Blair, who was a monk of Dunfermline and Wallace's chaplain in 1327, and that he was helped also by Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton I quote the close,

which gives Blind Harry's own account of his work, from an edition of 1758, which dropped the old spelling, while it printed the text in black letter —

> " Of Wallace life who has a further feel
> May shew forth more with wit and eloquence,
> For I to this have done my diligence
> After the proof got from the Latin book
> Which Master Blair in his time undertook,
> In fair Latine compiléd to an end,
> With thir witnéss the more it to commend,
> Bishop Sinclair then Lord was of Dunkel,
> He got this book and confirm'd it himsel
> For very true, thereof he had no dread,
> Himself had seen great part of Wallace deed
> His purpose was to have it sent to Rome,
> Our father of kirk thereon to give his dome
> And Master Blair, and als Sir Thomas Gray
> After Wallace they lasted many a day
> Thir two knew best of good Sir William's deed
> From sixteen year while nine and twenty yeed
> Forty-and-five of age was Wallace call'd
> That time that he was to the southron sold
> Tho' this matter be not to all pleasance,
> His soothfast deed was worthy to advance
> All worthy men that read this rural dite
> Blame not the book, though I be imperfite
> I should have thanks, since I no travail spar'd,
> For my labour no man heght me reward ,
> No charge I had of king or other lord,
> Great harm I thought his good deeds should be smord
> I have said here near as the process goes,
> And feinyied not for friendship nor for foes
> For costs hereof was no man bound to me,
> In this sentence I had no will to lee,
> But inasmuch as I rehearséd nought
> So worthily as noble Wallace wrought
> But in one point, I grant, I said amiss,
> Thir two knights should blaméd be for this,
> The knight Wallace of Craigie, righteous lord,
> And Liddale als, gart me make wrong recórd ,

On Allertoun muir the crown he took one dav,
To get battel, as mine authór will say ,
Thir two gait me say that another wise,
Till Master Blair me did some part despise
Go, noble book, fulfilled of good senténce,
Suppose you be barien of eloquence
Go, worthy book, fulfilled of soothfast deed,
But in language of help thou hast great need
When good Makérs rang well into Scotlánd
Great harm it was that none of them thee fand !
Yet there is part that can thee well advance ,
Now bide thy time, and be a iemembiance
I you beseech of your benevolence,
Who will not love, like * not mine eloquence
It is well known I am a rual man,
For heie is said as goodly as I can,
My tongue did never oinate terms embiace
Now, beseech God, that givei is of grace,
Made hell, and earth, and set the heaven above,
That He us grant of His dear lasting love "

And in the Fifth Book of the poem, when the minstrel is telling how, after an escape from perils, communications passed between Wallace and friends of Kerlie, he adds—

" Master John Blaer was oft in that messáge
A worthy clerk, both wise and als right sage,
Levyt he was before in Paris town
Among mastérs of science and renown,
Wallace and he at home in school had been ,
Soon afterwards, as verity is seen,
He was the man that principal undertook
That first compil'd in dyte the Latin book
Of Wallace life, right famous of renown ,
And Thomas Gray, parson of Libertoun,
With him they were, and put in stoiy all,
Oft one or both, meikle of his travail ,
And therefore here I make of them mention "

The edition here quoted is said to have been printed in

* Blame

1714 or 1715 by Fairbairn, but, owing to his taking part in the Rebellion of 1715, the publication was deferred till 1758, when it was produced at Edinburgh without a printer's name A Latin history ascribed to Arnold Blair—*Relationes Arnaldi Blair*—first appeared as an appendix to this 1758 edition of Blind Harry's " Wallace," but it is no more than a collection of extracts from the "Scotichronicon' Arnold is said to have been the name taken by John Blair when he joined a religious house at Dunfermline Not only John Blair's Latin history of Wallace is now lost, but of the "gret gestis" that Wyntoun says were made before his time of Wallace's "gud dedis and manhad," none remain extant Even after the invention of printing, the first Scottish printer, Walter Chepman, produced "The Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace," which is known only by the discovery of twenty leaves of it that were used to stiffen an old binding *

Blind Harry's "Wallace"

Blind Harry evidently was inspired by Barbour's " Bruce " to travel back in time, and take the other famous war of independence and the other great national hero as theme for a poem that should cherish among his countrymen the spirit of liberty Barbour wrote when the Bruce's deeds were fresh in memory, and his romance is nearer to historical truth than that of Blind Harry, who used traditions of the people a hundred and sixty years after his hero's death

Of the eleven books into which Blind Harry's poem is divided, the first gives William Wallace's parentage as second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie and of a daughter of Sir Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr Harry tells then of the death of Alexander III and the competition for the Scottish crown, with other incidents, until King Edward's

* Dr Laing, in the Introduction to his reprint of the Scottish "Golagrus and Gawain," first printed in 1508 by Chepman & Millar

deposition of John Baliol Then he introduces Wallace at eighteen years old, living in Gowry with his uncle, grieved at the oppressions of the English, and patriotically ready to clear Scotland of them one by one, as opportunity might serve—

> "Quher he fand ane, withoutyn othir presance,
> Efter to Scottis that did no more grewance
> To cut his throat, or steik him sodanlye
> He wayndit * not, fand he thaim fewely †
> Syndry wayntyt ‡ bot nane wyst be quhat way,
> For all to him thar couth na man thaim say, §
> Sad of contenance he was, bathe auld and ȝing,
> Litil of spech, wys curtass, and benyng"

One day Wallace was sent into Dundee, where Selby was the Constable The Constable's son, a youth of twenty, insulted Wallace as a Scot who had no right to dress handsomely in green—an Erse mantle would become him better—and advanced to take away his knife Wallace took the Constable's son by the collar, drew his knife, and stabbed him dead "The squier fell of him thar was na mar" Then Wallace escaped from a pursuing crowd, ran into a house where his uncle had lodged, and was saved by the goodwife, who put over him a russet gown of her own, hid his head in a dirty kerchief, "gaiff him a rock, syn set him doun to spin" They sought him busily through the house, but he sat still "and span full conandly As of his tym, for he nocht leryt lang" That homely touch is characteristic of Blind Harry's way of telling his adventures as a rural man to rustic audiences, with a sort of humour not less welcome at the tables of great lords When Wallace got home to his mother he told her what had happened, said that the English were insufferable, and ought to be with-

* Flinched † Few in number
‡ Sundry Englishmen were missing
§ No man could put down the loss of them all to him

stood His uncle feared that the English would seize Wallace, "for suthroun ar full sutaille, euirilk man" Then the Justices in Eyre were coming to Dundee, and he went away with a short sword under his dress, and with his mother disguised as a pilgrim So the adventures begin, and they are continued in the proper temper of romance Blind Harry says that Wallace was forty five years old when he died, but he opens his historical romance with Wallace aged eighteen, and makes that the starting-point of the nine years' contest ended by Wallace's execution, in 1305 Mr James Moir, the latest editor of Blind Harry's ' Wallace," has compared the history of Wallace with the legend of the poem, and finds the legend greatly wanting in trustworthy chronology If the opening incidents, including the lively narrative of the killing of three out of five Englishmen who rudely claimed his catch while Wallace was fishing in the Irvine, are founded upon fact, they must belong, says Mr James Moir, to the year 1297, when Wallace was not eighteen, but over thirty years of age, and his contest with England was begun In the Second Book there is a good popular story of Wallace caught and put in prison at Ayr, where he is made so ill by his prison diet of "barrell herring and watter" that he is taken for dead and thrown out on a draff midden His nurse comes to bury the body, but finds flickering of life, and her daughter revives Wallace by giving him suck, which, as Mr Moir says, is reappearance of an old Greek story among tales of the Scots Blind Harry's "Wallace," like Barbour's "Bruce," is in the course of his adventures tracked by a sleuth-hound Love comes into the tale Wallace is betrayed by a false love, but marries a true, Marion Bradfute of Lanark A child is born, and his wife is murdered by Heselrig, the English sheriff of Lanark, on whom Wallace takes revenge This incident has the support of historical papers Its date may be 1297, and one of the charges made against Wallace before his execution was that

he had killed Heselrig and cut him to pieces Wallace had, of course, some supernatural adventures In the Second Book, Thomas the Rymer prophesied that Wallace would thrice bring Scotland to the peace In the Fifth Book, after Wallace had killed his man Fawdoun, there was blowing of horns without, and a devil was at the door in the shape of Fawdoun Wallace fled up a stair, leapt fifteen feet out of a great rent in the wall, sought to cross water, and looking back saw that the ghostly Fawdoun had set all the house on fire, and held one of its great rafters in his hand He had a vision also in Monkton kirk, which precedes, at the beginning of the Seventh Book, a story of the burning of the Barns of Ayr, massacre and fire, in retaliation for the treachery of English, who, in time of truce, hanged and destroyed eighteen score Scottish barons Some later battle is transposed and magnified into a mythical Battle of Biggar, in which Wallace with three thousand men defeated King Edward with sixty thousand In the Eighth Book there is a mythical siege of York by Wallace, and a very good romantic account of a mythical visit of the Queen of England to the hero, who behaves with knightly courtesy The sequence is so managed as to make the Battle of Falkirk (July 22nd, 1298) the crowning incident in Wallace's career, and the poem, as it closes with his capture and execution by the English, is ingeniously linked to the beginning of Barbour's "Bruce" by bringing in the early story of the Bruces and the killing of Comyn at Dumfries Blind Harry's purpose—as scóp and gleeman—evidently was to complete the cycle of the national romance, that should carry throughout Scotland into homes of rich and poor the voice of freedom, and draw strength out of the past towards the shaping of the present and the future This was an aim worthy of the last minstrel who has a place of his own in English literature

Robert Henryson, who was notary public and school-

master at Dunfermline, bore a name once common in Scotland, of which Henderson is a corruption

On the 10th of September, 1462, eleven years after the foundation of the University of Glasgow, the venerable Master Robert Henryson, Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Decrees, was incorporated as a member of that University * He would hardly have been called "venerable" if he was then young, and "Magister" implies in old University record that he had graduated as Master of Arts We may suppose, therefore, that he was not born later than the year 1425 The only University in Scotland before that of Glasgow, with which Henryson was incorporated, was that of St Andrews, founded in 1411 Henryson's name is not found in the existing registers, and though he may have graduated at St Andrews, it would be in good accordance with the custom of his time if he went to study law at Paris or in some other foreign University Henryson settled at Dunfermline His birthplace is not known There is no evidence to support an opinion that he was of the family of the Hendersons of the castellated house of Fordell, about six miles from Dunfermline His name appears on the 18th and 19th of March, and on the 6th of July, 1478, in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, attached in witness to three deeds touching conveyance of the lands of Spettelfield, near the borough of Inverkeithing, and he is described in each as Magister Robertus Henrison, public notary Such notaries were usually ecclesiastics, few other men having been trained to the required knowledge of Civil and Canon law Each notary held his office by Papal and Imperial authority, confirmed by the Bishop of the Diocese as ordinary On the

Robert Henryson

* "Incorporatus fuit venerabilis vir Magister Robertus Henrisone in Artibus Licentiatus et in Decretis Bachalarius" Monumenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis Edited by Cosmo Innes and Joseph Robertson 3 vols , Glasgow, 1854 Printed at the expense of the Maitland Club Vol ii , p 69 Dr Laing first pointed out this entry

20th of November, 1469, an Act of King James III substituted royal for imperial authority, and the commission from the Pope was required only for action in spiritual matters Henryson's name as notary has not been found associated with any deed of his own framing, and there is no indication of his having been in priest's orders

That Robert Henryson was "schoolmaster of Dunfermline" appeared for the first time upon the title-page of an edition of his "Fables," published in 1570 and 1571, and again before an edition of his "Testament of Cresseid," in 1593 The description probably was given upon good authority, now lost, but it is justified by the fact that in 1573, after changes made by the Reformation, a "John Henryson, of the Grammar School within the Abbey of Dunfermline," brought a complaint before the Privy Council, in which he stated "that he and his predecessors had continued masters and teachers of the youth, in letters and doctrine, to their great commodity, within the said school past memory of man, admitted thereto by the abbots of Dunfermline for the time," &c , and in 1573 the days of Henryson the poet were very well within the memory of man Henryson was dead in 1508, and died probably in one of the last years of the fifteenth century Sir Francis Kynaston, in the reign of Charles I, translated into Latin Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida," with the "Testament of Cresseid," of which he said that it was not by Chaucer, but that he had heard from Sir Thomas Erskine, created Earl of Kellie in 1619, and from divers aged scholars of the Scottish nation, "that it was made and written by one Mr Robert Henderson, sometimes cheife schoole master in Dunfermling," and that "being very old he died of a diarrhœa or flux." To this he added a tradition that when he was dying an old woman told him he would be cured if he went to a rowan or whikey tree at the bottom of his garden, and walked three times round it, saying, "Whikey tree, whikey

tree, take away this flux from me" He told her that he was very faint and weak, and there was snow with hard frost out of doors Would it not do as well if he walked three times round the table, saying, "Oaken burd, oaken burd, gar me——" the rest was playful mockery, and the old woman saw there was no hope for him

"Fables of Esope"

Robert Henryson, as the edition of 1570 said, "compylit into eloquent and ornate Scottis meter" *The Morall Fables of Esope the Phrygian* They are in Chaucer's stanza There are thirteen fables here versified, including one that has once or twice since taken a place of note in literature, the fable of "The Town and Country Mouse," or, as Henryson had it, "The Taill of the Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous" Another fable of "The Dog, the Wolf, and the Sheep" is treated as an exposure of the abuses in procedure of the ecclesiastical courts Henryson wrote a prologue to the collection, and another to the fable of "The Lion and the Mouse," which represents himself wandering into a wood on a June morning, sleeping under a hawthorn, and visited in dream by "Maister Esope, poet laureate," who says that he is of gentle blood, and that his "natal land is Rome withouttin nay" Nay, the schoolmaster was asleep when he made Æsop a Roman poet, and asleep after the fashion of many English and other poets since the days of the "Romaunt of the Rose" Henryson's fables were probably written between the years 1470 and 1480 Their subjects are —"The Taill of the Cock and the Jasp" (or precious stone), "The Uponlandis Mous and the Burges Mous", "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe", "The Taill how this Foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Wait-Skaith", "The Taill of the Sone and Air of the Foirsaid Foxe, callit Father Ware alswa the Parliament of Fourfuttit Beistis haldin be the Lyoun', "The Taill of the Dog, the Scheip, and the Wolf", "The Taill of the Lyoun and the Mous", "The Preiching

of the Swallow", "The Taill of the Wolf that gat the Nek-Hering throw the wrinkis of the Fox that begylit the Cadgear", "The Taill of the Foxe that begylit the Wolf in Schadow of the Mone", "The Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder", "The Taill of the Wolf and the Lamb", "The Taill of the Paddok and the Mous" Each has appended to it a "Moralitas"

All Henryson's writings are designed as lessons in good life, but he joins in his verse the finish of a scholar to kindly wisdom, twinkling with some sparks of humour in a simple homeliness of speech He follows his time when he is somewhat over-curious of detail in working out his Fables into moral allegories, but in telling them he is not more prolix than a man should be who speaks to the ear, not to the eye, and seeks to recommend old home truths to the body of the people If as poet he is schoolmaster, we do not tire over his lessons He used also Chaucer's seven-lined stanza in his *Testament of Cresseid*, for this measure had become current among our poets as the English representative of octave rhyme Henryson's "Testament of Cresseid" is a moral sequel to Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida" Abandoned by Diomede, and become a leper among lepers, Cresseid saw Troilus pass on his way back from a brilliant attack upon the Greeks As she looked at him, although he did not recognise her through her leprosy, yet her presence filled his mind with thought of the fair Cresseid, and in memory of her he threw a rich purse to the leper Cresseid learnt, after he had passed, that this kind-hearted knight was Troilus, and then, lamenting her inconstancy, she uttered her last Testament and died

The "Testament of Cresseid"

Henryson is the author also of our first pastoral poem, *Robene and Makyne*, a work that has much natural and simple beauty, to the theme of "If you will not when you may, when you will I can say nay" Robin and Makin kept their sheep and sat upon

"Robene and Makyne"

a hill together Makin declared her love to Robin, who found it enough for him to keep his sheep, and asked her what love was She gave him a love lesson in vain Robin must look after his sheep

"'Robin, thou reivis me[1] roiff[2] and rest,
I luve but thee alone'
'Makyn, adieu! the sun goes west,
The day is near hand gone'
'Robin, in dule,[3] I am so drest,[4]
That lufe will be my bone'[5]
'Ga lufe, Maykn, wherever thou list,
For leman[6] I luve none'

"'Robin, I stand in sic a style
I sicht,[7] and that full sair'
'Makyn, I haif been here this whyle,
At hame God gif I were'[8]
'My honey, Robin, talk a while,
If thou will do na mair'
'Makyn, some other man beguile,
For homeward I will fare'

"Robin on his wayis went,
As light as leaf of tree,
Makyn murnit in her intent,[9]
And trow'd him never to see
Robin brayd attour the bent,[10]
Then Makyn cryit on hie,"[11]

1 *Reivis me*, robbest me 2 *Roif*, quiet
3 *Dule*, grief 4 *Drest*, treated, ill treated
5 *Bone* (First English "ben"), petition, prayer "I must pray for the love that alone will ease my grief"
6 *Leman*, a sweetheart, male or female First English "leve man," loved person 7 *Sicht*, sigh
8 Robin, weary of Makyn's voice of love, suggests that her talk has kept him waiting on the pasture for some time, and that he wishes to get home
9 *Intent*, direction of one's course From Latin "intendere" Robin went his way home lightly, and Makyn heis with a heavy heart
10 *Brayd attour the bent*, started across the coarse grass or rushes by the hill side 11 *On hie*, on high

> 'Now may thou sing, for I am shent,[1]
> What ails lufe at me?'"[2]

But Robin's time next came for setting his heart wholly upon Makin, and then with happy touches of humour in contrast of the new with the old state of shepherd and shepherdess, tables are turned upon Robin

"The Bludy Serk" is a good example of the religious earnestness that underlies Henryson's work, and of the continuance of the old taste for allegory A prince saved a princess from a dungeon into which she had been cast by a giant, and shut the giant up in his own prison-house He restored the princess to her father, and then died of a wound received in the conflict, bequeathing to the lady the shirt stained with the blood shed for her, which she was to look at when approached by a new lover The lady, it is explained, is the Soul of Man, God's daughter, and His handiwork, the giant, Lucifer, the champion, Christ And, therefore--

The Bludy Serk, and other pieces

> "For his lufe that bocht us deir
> Think on the Bludy Serk!"

"The Garmond of Gude Ladeis"

> "Wald my gud Lady lufe me best
> And wirk efter my will,
> I suld ane Garmont gudliest
> Gar mak her body till"—

is a song in which the good lady is attired in the best graces of womanhood "The Abbey Walk, with its refrain Obey, and thank thy God of all," is based upon a poem of Lydgate's Other short pieces are "Against hasty Credence of Tatlers", "The Praise of Age", "The Reasoning betwixt Age and Youth", "The Want of Wise Men", "The Reasoning betwixt Death and Man", "The Three

1 *Shent*, put to shame   2 *Ails at me*, ails me

Deid Powis" (Death's heads), "The Salutation of the Virgin", "A Prayer for the Pest", "Some Practices of Medicine," and "The Tale of Orpheus and Euridice"*

*These pieces were collected into a volume with Introduction and Notes by David Laing "The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, now first collected, with Notes, and a Memoir of his Life, by David Laing," Edinburgh, 1865 Poems of Henryson are not extant in MSS of the fifteenth century The earliest MS copies are those in a collection of pieces of prose and verse in the Auchinleck library, transcribed by John Asloan, about the year 1515, the greatest number are in the collection of poems copied by George Bannatyne, in 1568 The MS, a folio of 800 pages, is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh We owe to it the possession of much that was best in our old northern literature, which would have been wholly lost if the compiler, shut up in Forfarshire during the plague of 1568, had not occupied his time in completing what he entitled "Ane most godlie mirrie and lustie Rapsodie, maide be sundrie learned Scots poets, and written be George Bannatyne, in the tyme of his youth"

Mr Moir's edition of Blind Harry referred to in this chapter was published in three parts in 1884-5-9, by the Scottish Text Society, "The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailȝeand Campioun, Schir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie, by Henry the Minstrel, commonly known as Blind Harry Edited by James Moir, M A, Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School"

CHAPTER XII

THE PASTON LETTERS

"ORIGINAL LETTERS written during the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, by various persons of rank or consequence, containing many curious Anecdotes relative to that turbulent, bloody, but hitherto dark, period of our history, and elucidating not only public matters of State, but likewise the private manners of the age, digested in chronological order with notes historical and explanatory, and authenticated by engravings of autographs, paper marks and seals, by John Fenn, Esq, M A. and F A S" This was their first editor's description on his title-page of a collection of family letters written during the Wars of the Roses, which are now commonly known as the "Paston Letters," because most of them were written by or to particular persons of the family of Paston in Norfolk, where Paston is a village near the sea, about four miles north-east of North Walsham They were preserved by that family for several generations In the time of Charles II Sir Robert Paston, then head of the family, was made Earl of Yarmouth His son William, second and last earl, got into difficulties, and died without male issue From him the "Paston Letters" came next into the possession of the Norfolk antiquary, Peter le Neve, who was made Norroy King of Arms in 1704 The marriage of a learned antiquary, Thomas Martin of Palgrave, in Suffolk, with Mrs le Neve caused the transfer of many "Paston

The "Paston Letters"

Letters" to the collections of Thomas Martin, which were bought after Martin's death, in 1771, for selling again, by John Worth, an apothecary and chemist at Diss, in Norfolk John Worth died in 1774, before he had completed the sale of his treasures, and it was then that the curious collection of the "Paston Letters" came into the hands of the antiquary who, as Mr Fenn, of East Dereham, in Norfolk, began their publication with two quartos in 1787 They were dedicated to the king, and the interest in them was so great that the edition was sold in a week, and a new edition published, with assistance from George Steevens, before the end of the same year The original letters were placed by Sir John Fenn for a short time with the Antiquarian Society, and afterwards, bound in three volumes, presented to King George III In return for his gift, John Fenn was knighted on the same day, the 23rd of May, 1787 Sir John Fenn published two more volumes of "Paston Letters" in 1789, and had, before his death in 1794, prepared a fifth volume The publication was authenticated with facsimiles of 3 letters, 187 signatures, 98 paper marks, and 56 seals, which have borne all scrutiny and test of later knowledge of the old handwritings After they had come into the king's possession, the originals of the two first printed volumes of "Paston Letters" were lost The originals of the third and fourth volumes, which were not given to George III, also disappeared

The letters of the fifth volume, bringing down the correspondence to the latter end of the reign of Henry VII, were partly in the hand of Sir John Fenn, partly in that of a transcriber whom he had employed, and the copy so made remained in the hands of Sir John Fenn's widow till her death in 1814 It then passed to her nephew, Mr Serjeant Frere, who published it in 1823 as the fifth and last volume of the series, but he had not succeeded in finding the original letters from which the copies had been made

by Sir John Fenn and his transcriber. In the year 1865 they were discovered by the Serjeant's son, Mr. Philip Frere, in his house at Dungate, Cambridgeshire. Ten years later all the originals of Fenn's third and fourth volumes, except only two letters in the third and one in the fourth, were found in the possession of the head of the Frere family at Roydon Hall. With them ninety-five unpublished letters of the same period were found, and many others of a later date—the last date being 1509—together with a few unpublished letters and two or three of the letters that had been included by Sir John Fenn in his earlier volumes. Stray copies of Paston papers, that had at different times been sold or given away, came also now and then into the market. Francis Douce had a collection of twenty, which are now among his MSS. in the Bodleian; and Sir Thomas Phillipps bought two separate volumes of Fastolf and Paston papers.

Besides the family and friendly letters of the Pastons, there were in the first two printed volumes of the series, letters to John Paston from Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, John de Vere Earl of Oxford, George Neville Archbishop of York, John Howard Duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole of Suffolk; letters to and from Sir John Fastolf, and others illustrating the career of persons of high mark in history. When Sir John Fenn prepared his next two volumes he had chiefly the more private letters left to him. The third and fourth volumes, therefore, although still containing letters and papers from or concerning men of historical mark, were valuable as illustrations of domestic manners. The fifth volume continued the series from the date at which the former collection closed—namely, the year 1470—to the year 1505. The whole series of "Paston Letters" extended from 1422 to 1505. Most of the letters were addressed to John Paston, Esq., who died in 1466; to Sir

John Paston, his son, who died in 1479, and to John Paston, of Gelston, who died in 1503 Of the reign of Henry VI the number of letters in Sir John Fenn's edition was 163, of the reign of Edward IV, 273, there was one of the reign of Edward V, there were 9 of the reign of Richard III, and 40 of the reign of Henry VII, making in all 486

In three volumes, published severally in May, 1872, May, 1874, and December, 1875, Mr James Gairdner, of the Record Office, superseded Sir John Fenn's work by producing a critical edition of the "Paston Letters," increased in number by five hundred that had not been published, and still further increased by notes of the discovery at Roydon Hall, which had been made before the printing of Mr Gairdner's third volume was finished There was in this edition not only a large increase of the number of letters, but they were for the first time critically studied, arranged in chronological order, and fully interpreted by an editor who is the best living authority upon the historical records of the period these papers illustrate Notes are attached to the letters themselves, and Mr Gairdner's Introduction of a hundred and thirty closely printed pages to the first volume, fifty to the second, and sixty to the third, is a book in itself, giving a clear record of the public and private life of England from 1422 to 1509, so far as they are illustrated by, or illustrate, the "Paston Letters"*

Sir John Fastolf, who spent the last five years of his life in his spacious castle at Caistor, was near friend and cousin of the Paston family, related in blood to John Paston's wife

* "The Paston Letters, 1422—1509, a new edition, containing upwards of four hundred Letters, &c, hitherto unpublished Edited by James Gairdner, of the Public Record Office" Volume I, Henry VI, 1422—1461 A D Volume II, Edward IV, 1461—1471 A D Volume III, Edward IV, Henry VII, 1471—1509 A D Published by Professor Edward Arber, of Mason's College, Birmingham, as three volumes of "Annotated Reprints," and to be had only from him

There are many letters to or from him, and it is in these that his real character is to be found. He was a good old soldier, tainted on one occasion with a false report of cowardice at the battle of Patay *—which found its way into history and caused Shakespeare to substitute his name for that of Sir John Oldcastle, which had been used in the play that served as suggestion for his "King Henry IV." But Sir John Fastolf, though he was not a coward, was also not gifted with good humour. He owned much property, and looked after it in griping fashion, mean to those in his service, a sharp creditor, a hard and grasping stepfather. But he and his cousin Paston were good friends. John Fastolf had also a taste for literature. His secretary, William of Worcester, born in 1415, trained at Oxford, and the writer of a book of Annals, took to French, said "he would be as glad and as fain of a good book of French or poetry as my master Fastolf would be to purchase a fair manor," and he translated from a French version, at Fastolf's request, Cicero *de Senectute*, the translation which Caxton printed in 1481. Fastolf's son-in-law, Stephen Scrope, also made for him, although he did not love him, a translation of the "Ditz of Philosophers," still to be found in MS. in the Harleian Collection.† "But," said Scrope, "he bought me and sold me as a beast, against all right and law, to mine hurt more than a thousand marks." Scrope's mother, Lady Milicent, was the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope when Fastolf married her, and he at once cleared five hundred marks by selling the wardship of her son to Chief Justice Gascoigne. When young Scrope grew to be fifty, he was looking for a second wife in Elizabeth Paston, aged twenty, who was not unwilling to be married to him, "if it be so that his land stand clear." She had sorrows at home, says one letter from Elizabeth Clere, concerning her, "and she hath since Easter the most part been beaten once in the week or

* "E. W." vi. 155. † No. 2,266.

twice, and sometimes twice in one day, and her head broken in two or three places "

But here it concerns us most to note that among the many suggestions of English life in the fifteenth century which these letters bring home to us is an inventory of John Paston's English books, made in an unnamed year of the reign of Edward IV They are Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida," two copies of Chaucer's "Assembly of Foules," Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," two copies of Alain Chartier's "Belle Dame sans Merci," "Guy Earl of Warwick," "Guy and Colbrond," "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," "The Death of King Arthur," "Lamentations of the Child Ipotis," "King Richard Cœur de Lion," "Palatyse and Sitacus," "The Disputation between Hope and Despair," "Meeds of the Mass, "A Prayer to the Vernicle," Cicero "de Senectute," "de Amicitia," "de Sapientia," an English metrical version of the "de Regimine Principum," "Myn olde boke of Blasonyngs off Armes," the new book of the same, a book of knighthood and of the manner of making knights, statutes of war, and a book of new statutes of Edward IV

An English gentleman's library in the reign of Edward IV

There were a few other works, of which the names, as well as the annexed values of all, are lost by damage to the inventory, but here evidently is a right suggestion of the character of the books read by an educated English gentleman in the reign of King Edward IV This little library had been collected with much care Another of the "Paston Letters" is from a copyist, W Ebesham, who says that he is living at some expense in the Sanctuary, Westminster, in 1468, and sends in his bill for copies of books that he has been employed to make for John Paston, as —

	s	d
Itm for "De Regimine Principum," which conteyneth xlv[ti] leves, after a peny a leef, which is right wele worth	iii	ix
Itm for Rubrissheyng of all the booke . .	iii	iv "

Rubrishing was the adornment with red, in capitals and so forth, which raised the cost of copying to nearly twopence a leaf. The actual book thus copied is, with others produced by the same copyist for the same customer, among the Lansdowne MSS. of the British Museum.* It is a metrical version of the "De Regimine Principum" in Chaucer's stanza, which was begun by Lydgate, and said to have been completed by Benedict Burgh.† We find, then, that at the time of the invention of printing, the library of an English country gentleman who cared about reading consisted of a few moral and religious books, books of blazonings of arms, knighthood, laws of war and law of the land, some of the works of Chaucer, the "Governail of Princes," the English version of the "Belle Dame sans Merci," "Morte Arture," "Guy of Warwick," and about half a dozen other romances.

The "Lamentation of the Child Ypotis," named in the list, is a legend, said to be attested by St. John the Evangelist, of a holy child whom the Emperor Adrian at Rome set on his knees. "Richard Coer de Lion," as first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, and doubtless as the Pastons read it in Edward IV.'s time, was an extravagant French romance which seems to have been written in the days of Edward I., and some years afterwards translated into English.

Cost of MS. books.

W. Ebesham's account for copying gives us an opportunity also of estimating the cost of books at the time when the printers were about to reduce it by their new method of multiplying copies. The charge was twopence a leaf for solid prose, a penny a leaf for verse of about thirty lines to the page. Much red letter decoration doubled the expense. The decoration of the "De Regimine Principum," charged for, as we have seen, in Ebesham's bill, consists of one initial letter, small blue and red marginal paragraph marks, a little pen-scratch

* MS. Lansdowne, 285. † "E. W." vi. 161, 162.

of red ink across the first letter of every line, and light lines of red ink rapidly scratched to bracket all the rhymes On the whole, then, we may infer that, at the present value of money, good copies, with here and there a red initial or red chapter-heading, appear to have cost, when complete, about two shillings a leaf for closely written prose, or a shilling a leaf for verse A carpenter's wages being at that time about sixpence a day, the first-class copyist must produce three leaves of prose to bring his earnings to the level of those of a skilled mechanic But he could do much more

Paper began to take the place of parchment about the middle of the fourteenth century, but was not made in England It was used in account-keeping as frequently as parchment, after the accession of Richard II One point also may be noticed in the letter accompanying W Ebesham's bill for copies made He speaks of the expense of living in the Sanctuary at Westminster This indicates a transition from the monks of the Scriptorium to hireable lodgings and appliances for professional copyists, who were laymen, within the Abbey precincts Eleven years later, Caxton, copyist in the new manner, issued from the Almonry there the first of his books that names the place of impression

Invention of printing

For there are the first rays of a great light now piercing the darkness of these days of strife At Mayence, in the year of the Battle of St Albans, 1455, the Bible called the "Mazarin," because a copy of it was found in Cardinal Mazarin's library, was printed by John Gutenberg In the year of the condemnation of Reginald Pecock for declaring that all truth would bear the test of reason and inquiry, John Fust, or Faust, and Peter Schœffer printed a magnificent edition of the Psalter

CHAPTER XIII

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

PRINTING from copperplate is said to have had its beginning at the same time as typography The earliest known prints in copperplate were produced in Germany in 1446, and the Florentine goldsmith, Finiguerra, produced his first print soon after that date The invention of movable types falls also within the twelve years before 1450

Printing

There was stamping as well as cutting of letters on the bricks of Babylon Ezekiel showed Jerusalem upon a tile Stamping with raised letters was slightly used by the Romans, with ink for signatures, and with fire for the branding of cattle But they had no better ink than could be made of soot and gum, with a little acid or copperas to make it bite into the papyrus, with such ink no good impressions could be taken even upon paper, and they had no paper The approach to it was parchment, made from the skins of sheep Their books, produced by copyists on rolls of papyrus more or less handsomely bound, had publishers who might, like Martial's publisher, Tryphon, grow rich by their speculative trade After the light had faded out of Rome, and when the small republic of letters scattered over Europe looked to the writing-rooms of monasteries for the books it wanted, the books wanted were not more than the monks could produce without suffering from overwork In 1204, when the

Early stamping Ink Papyrus Parchment

Crusaders took Constantinople, they exposed to scorn the pens and inkstands they found in the city As for labourers, farmers and mechanics in England, even as late as 1412 it was unlawful for them to send their children to school In the days of the Crusades, Laȝamon's "Brut" was written for few readers but for many hearers Reproduction was then chiefly on the tongues of the reciters

Image Prints

Pictures, however, spoke in a language open to all eyes A MS Bible in the National Library at Paris contains 5,122 hand-painted pictures Image prints from engravings in wood, at first not shaded in black and white, but some hand-painted and some coloured by stencilling, were current at the beginning of the fifteenth century A woodcut of St Christopher, of which three copies are known, as well as a woodcut—the only known copy—of the Annunciation, was found in the cover of a MS volume of 1417, among the books of the Chartreuse at Buxheim, in Suabia Of about the same date is a German woodcut, also unique, of St Bridget of Sweden, with the legend, "O Brigita bit got fur uns" Probably, also, of the same age is an English woodcut of the Crucifixion, with the inscription—

> "Seynt Gregor with oþer popes and bysshoppes yn feer
> Haue graunted of pardon xxvi mill yeer
> To þeym þt befor þis figur on þeir knees
> Devoutly say v Pater noster & v Avees"

A print of the martyrdom of St Sebastian, dated 1437, has archers in German costume A Flemish print, known as "the Indulgence Print of 1410," has its date now placed between 1455 and 1481, but another Flemish print, known as "the Brussels Print," now in the Royal Library at Brussels, discovered in 1848 by an innkeeper pasted into an old chest, is dated 1418, and although its early date has been ascribed to the scratching out of an L in the middle of

the numerals (MCCCC(L)XVIII), it has maintained its credit These pictures were made by traders outside the monasteries, and sold as religious wall-prints for the people

Playing-cards were produced by the same men in the same manner The decay of the art in Venice, through foreign competition, caused the Venetian Senate in 1441 to enact that in future "no work of the said art that is printed or painted on cloth or paper—that is to say, altar-pieces, or images, or playing-cards, or any other thing that may be made by the said art, either by painting or by printing—shall be allowed to be bought or imported into this city, under pain of forfeiting the work so imported and thirty livres and twelve soldi, of which fine one-third shall go to the State, one-third to the Giustizieri Vecchi, to whom this affair is committed, and one-third to the accuser' The altar pieces here mentioned were larger religious prints on cotton or linen cloth instead of paper The best early Venetian playing-cards were of high price, being adorned richly with gold and colour The "Burgher Book" of Augsburg speaks of cardmakers in the year 1418, and under the date 1397 there is a defence of card-playing in the "Red Book" of Ulm Colouring was chiefly by the use of stencil-plates and a broad brush, which gave rise to an old German saying of "painting the twelve apostles with one stroke" A MS history of the town of Viterbo says that in the year 1379, "a year of great distress, was brought into Viterbo the game of cards, which came from the land of the Saracens, and by them is called Naib" Cards came certainly from the East, and were made by the Chinese from printed blocks long before either block-printing or cards were known in Europe Although playing-cards are said to have been used earlier in France, the first certain record of them is an account-book, kept by Charles Poupart, his treasurer, of expenses of Charles VI

Playing Cards

for the year 1392 "Paid to Jacquemin Gringonneur, painter, for three packs of cards, gilded, coloured, and ornamented with various designs, for the amusement of our lord the king, 56 soli of Paris," which would be equivalent to 150 francs in modern money These were, no doubt, wholly produced by hand But in 1415, when a Duke of Milan played with a pack of cards painted by famous artists upon ivory plates at a cost of fifteen hundred crowns, the common people were amusing themselves freely with cards chiefly engraved and coloured The image-prints and cards were often called by the same name To the common people of Suabia prints of all sorts were "Halgen," or saints In France the earliest prints were called "dominos," though that name was proper to pictures of saints, and a maker of prints was a "dominotier"

Stamped Letters in Manuscripts

On Italian MSS as old as the ninth century, Padre della Valla is said by Lanzi to have observed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, initial letters evidently repeated by the use of impressed stamps, which had left marks of indentation in the parchment Stamping of signatures from engraved wood blocks is found in Italian documents of the twelfth century Of like character, and still earlier use, were printed signatures of notaries, and merchants' brands It has been suggested that some Italian MSS were wholly produced by separate stamping of the letters side by side from a set of sixty-six hand-stamps placed before the worker, and the famous "Silver Codex," the Mœsogothic version of the Gospel by Ulfilas, now at Upsala, is said to contain evidence of this manner of production, in signs of indentation in the reverse of a leaf, thinness of vellum where the pressure may have been too great, and occasional stamping of a letter upside down

Paper was first made by the Chinese, and their art was improved and developed in Japan It was made from

some kinds of bamboo and the bark and leaves of certain trees, beaten into pulp with a suitable club, care being taken to secure the utmost fineness and the utmost length of fibre. Films formed in sieves dipped into the tank of pulp were laid one over another, pressed, and dried. From Asia, at some undetermined time, the art of paper-making passed into Europe, cotton and linen rags being used early as material from which to get the fibre. In the fifth century it was thick, coarse, and otherwise unfit for the copyist, although the manufacture of papyrus was then declining. It entirely ceased in the ninth or tenth century. A paper mill of the Moors at Toledo is said to have passed into the hands of Christians in 1085. An Arabian MS in the Escurial is said to show the use of linen paper in the year 1100. Paper seems to have been first made in Spain by the Moors, when they were the chief producers of books and preservers of learning. There is mention of a family of paper makers in Sicily in the year 1102. Peter Mauritius, abbot of a French monastery at Cluny, in a treatise written in 1120 against the Jews, says that "the books we read every day are made of the skins of sheep, goats, and calves, of Oriental plants, or ex rasuris veterum pannorum [of the scrapings of old rags], or of any other compacted refuse material"—that is to say, parchment, papyrus, or paper.

Paper making

In 1221 Emperor Frederick II declared invalid all public documents written on cotton paper, and ordered them to be transcribed upon parchment within two years. In 1338 Peter II of Spain commanded the paper-makers of Valencia and Xativa to make their paper as good as they used to do. The earliest record of a paper-mill in Italy is of a mill at Fabriano, in work for years before 1340. In France, paper is known to have been made at Troyes in 1340. But all valuable books, in the

fourteenth century, were written on vellum Vellum was made from the skins of lambs and kids, parchment from skins of sheep and goats In the Library of the Louvre there were twenty-eight MSS on vellum to each one upon paper In the library of the Duke of Burgundy the proportion of paper books to books on vellum was one-fifth In the days of the first invention of printing the most costly library in Western Europe was that of Philip (the Good) of Burgundy, father of Charles the Bold, at whose Court Caxton was inspired to learn the printer's art But costly illuminated MSS, bound with adornment of gems and precious metals, belonged less to the uses than to the pomps of life Paper, not thought important enough to be worth taxation, through its cheapness came to be used by the copyists of cheap alphabets, primers, Aves, Creeds, and Paternosters for common use, and the centre of the publishing trade in London is still on the old ground, distinguished by such local names as Paternoster Row, Ave Maria Lane, Creed Lane, and Amen Corner The makers and sellers of books were represented in London by a Company of Stationers in 1405, and there was a book-makers' guild at Bruges in 1454

Paper and Vellum

Printed illustrations have been found set in a German MS text ascribed to the year 1400 For the small number of readers, it was not worth while to engrave text also on the wood blocks The "Pomerium Spirituale," or Spiritual Nursery, is a little book of twelve chapters in MS, each headed by an engraving, and two of these engravings are dated 1440 But books of the stencil-coloured pictures had a readier sale, and these were the earliest form of block books

Block Books

Afterwards came the block books giving explanation of each picture in a full page of block-printed text These were in common use during the fifteenth century, before and after

Biblia Pauperum

the invention of type-printing Specimens of at least twenty distinct works of this kind still remain, the most famous of these being that known as the "Biblia Pauperum," or Bible of the Poor Stow says that a fair copy of the whole Bible was sold in England in 1274 for fifty marks, equal to thirty-three pounds, at a time when a sheep could be had for a shilling Thirty-three pounds at that time were equivalent to four hundred in present value In 1460 a fair copy of the whole Bible, in two folios of vellum, was sold in France for five hundred crowns of gold But the "Bible of the Poor," which told to the eye chief incidents of the Scripture story in forty pages of picture, cost little In this, engraved text came to be added In four editions, of which copies are extant, two have the text in Latin, two in German Of the edition commonly regarded as the oldest, fifteen copies are known Some consider it to have been printed in Germany between the years 1440 and 1460, others consider it to have been designed in the Netherlands, perhaps by Van Eyck, between 1410 and 1420 The figures show the skill of an artist, but the shaping of the letters of explanatory text is rude, the Latin words are ill-divided and abbreviated, and in this part of the wood-engraving there is no skill shown The wood blocks used for this first known edition of the "Biblia Pauperum," in its folio form, were cut up and made to supply the several pictures—set in sections on each page as small cuts—for two books published in 1488 and 1489 by Peter Van Os, of Zwoll, in Holland

Other Early Block Books

Another of the early block books is the Apocalypse of St John, of which some editions have forty-eight, some fifty, leaves of pictures The pictures are not founded on the Book of Revelation, and include legendary incidents in the life of the Apostle Another block book, of sixteen small folio pages, gives the Canticles, or Prefiguration of the Virgin

from the Song of Songs, and another gives "The Story of the Blessed Virgin Mary, collected from the Evangelists and the Fathers" Another illustrates upon ten leaves the Lord's Prayer Subjects of other such cuts are from the Apostles' Creed, of which only seven leaves remain The only known book of this kind not religious represents the "Eight Rogueries," which are explained in German The eight are the Go-between, the Liar, the Cheat, the Counterfeit Goldsmith, the Cheating Merchant, the Church Robber, the Cheating Ropemaker, and the Blacksmith who sells iron for steel A block book of the "Life of Antichrist" and of the "Fifteen Signs of Judgment" has narrative text There is text also to the *Ars Memorandi,* which associates figures with evangelists—the eagle with John, the lion with Mark, the bull with Luke, and the angel with Matthew—and blends images with each to recall incidents in their several gospels

Another of these books with texts is the *Ars Moriendi,* with thirteen pages of engraved text and eleven pages of picture, showing the temptations of the devils that beset the dying One of the suggested counsels of the devil is, that the rich man, when dying, should leave his goods to his own friends, when he ought to have left them to the Church The only block book without pictures was an abridgment of Donatus as a Latin grammar for boys According to the size of the engraved letters, this Donatus occupied at least nine pages, and at most thirty-four When printing with types came in, the demand for a cheap Donatus led to the production of more than fifty editions before 1500, and some have supposed that the suggestion of type-printing came from the "Donets" which had been printed from wooden blocks in Holland

Ars Moriendi

Donets

Of another early book, known as the *Speculum*

Salutis, or *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, there are manuscript copies as old, perhaps, as the twelfth century. It was in forty-five chapters of Latin rhyme, that begin with the Fall of Lucifer and proceed with typical incidents of Bible story, from the Fall of Man to his Redemption. Four editions of this Speculum—two in Latin, two in Dutch—while evidently printed from the same blocks, show differences in the shape or position of the letters, which have suggested an opinion that in this book we have a connecting link between the block books and books printed with movable type. The two Latin editions contain five pages of preface and fifty-eight of text, printed on one side of the paper in the usual way, with the printed pages facing each other. At the top of each page is the wood engraving, and one or two instances of overlapping show that pictures and text were not printed together, but that the pictures were first separately printed. Again, the pictures are in a brown water-colour ink—perhaps a faded black—the text is in a black ink made with oil; the blank space is smooth and shining at the back of the woodcuts, but at the back of the letterpress rough and indented. It is evident, also, that the leaves were printed in couples. But in the two Latin editions printed from the same type, one shows variation in the form and spelling of words that indicate recomposition. There are like differences between the two editions in Dutch prose; a copy of one of these, showing worn letters and careless printing, is to be seen at Haarlem with a note on it in Dutch, and in handwriting of the sixteenth century, which describes it as the *Speculum Salutis*, the earliest production of Lourens Coster, the inventor of typography, who printed at Haarlem about the year 1440. A portrait of Lourens Coster, engraved by Vandervelde after Van Campen, is inserted in the book, with the words, in

Speculum Salutis

Lourens Coster

Latin: "Lourens Coster, of Haarlem, first inventor of the typographic art, about the year 1440." Junius, in 1568, said that the *Speculum* was made by Coster from types of wood, in Haarlem, before the year 1440. Scriverius, a Dutch author writing in 1628, said that it was printed by Coster from founded or cast types in or about 1428. If the types were cast, they are so far from uniform that there must have been two, four, or six moulds for one letter; but it is said that one form of letter with a blemish in it can be traced from page to page with such exact reproduction of the blemish as could only be accounted for by its existence in a movable type. There are also inversions of letters, which could not occur in block engraving, and there is unequal clearness of letters placed side by side, suggesting that the distinct letter is from a new, the indistinct from a worn type. The four editions—the two Latin and the two Dutch—came from the same printer; the engravings are the same, the types the same, the ink and paper are alike in character. One Latin edition seems to be printed from types only, the other from the same types, except twenty pages which are printed from engraved wood blocks; these are not the first twenty, but are found in different parts of the book, and appear to have been cut by tracings from a preceding type-printed edition. Another peculiarity observed in the two Latin editions is that at the end of the short lines the blank space sometimes shows impressions, stamped but not inked, of letters, or even whole words, that have nothing to do with the printed matter. The inference is that these were types applied as guards by the printer. The woodcuts of the *Speculum Salutis* came into the hands of John Veldener, a printer at Culenberg, who cut away the ornamental framework and sawed asunder the two pictures that were originally on each block, for a Dutch edition of the *Speculum* reduced from folio size to quarto. This was published, with wholly different types, in 1483. There is little trace of the

use of the types of the old *Speculum Salutis* for printing any other work than that, and no fragment of printing in types of the *Speculum* is found in the binding of MS books with an earlier date than 1467

To the Dutch printer of the *Speculum*, or his immediate successors, forty-three editions of twelve different works are assigned In eleven of these the types are like those of the *Speculum*, the books are of small quarto or octavo form, and without pictures

Early Dutch types

They show types of eight different faces, which must have been cast from eight separate moulds, many of them so nearly alike that the letters could be, and were, accidentally mixed This may perhaps be accounted for by the supposition that the first types, cheaply made and roughly used, were soon worn out and soon replaced, that the matrices and moulds also were of a kind to spoil in the using, and needed frequent replacement, and that the old types remaining in the printer's workroom came also into occasional use One of the rudest—but not, therefore, the earliest—of these early Dutch books was an "Abecedarium," or primer for young children, the other books of the same group were small and cheap copies of books that might have been multiplied for the use of schoolboys

If any experiments were at first made in small wooden types, they could only have proved at once the necessity of metal Large wooden letters are still made, and used for wall advertisements, but it is not possible so to cut in wood the bodies of small types that they can be combined and recombined for frequent use under conditions of frequent damping and drying, that would add the warping of the wood to the difficulties which even the fine tools and ingenious devices of modern art are unable to overcome. But, since it was necessary to cast for the types metal bodies in a mould, it must have been at once obvious that the same act of casting would produce also the face

One writer has suggested that the types of the *Speculum* were cast from a sand mould, and had experiments made in a brass foundry that seemed to confirm his opinion Another opinion is that they were leaden types, founded in matrices of lead taken from punches or models cut in wood Attempts to determine the date of editions of the *Speculum* and other books of its class from various paper marks, fail to limit the possible time of publication to any date earlier than that indicated by these two facts that a leaf of one edition of the *Speculum* was found pasted in the binding of a volume once belonging to the Sion Convent of Cologne, which includes a treatise printed by Ulric Tell in 1467, and that the wood blocks of the *Speculum* were cut up by another printer at Utrecht in 1483, which was also the year of the first book published with a printed date at Haarlem. Its printer was Jacob Bellaert

Early Printers at Haarlem

In 1485 another printer, Jan Andrieszoon, who had a stock of old worn types, set up in Haarlem a rival establishment The consequence was that both printers failed, and after 1486 there was no book printed in Haarlem for about twenty years The date of the next book printed there is 1507 But in 1561 Jan van Zuren, burgomaster of Amsterdam, and Dierick Coornhert, notary and engraver, set up a printing-office at Haarlem, from which they issued as their first book an edition of Cicero "de Officiis," with a dedication by Coornhert to the burgomaster, sheriffs, and councillors of the town of Haarlem, in which he said, "I was often told that the useful art of printing books was invented first of all here at Haarlem, although in a very crude way," and went on to say that an unfaithful servant carried the art to Mayence, where it was very much improved Thus, he said, Mayence had obtained all the credit, and the people of Haarlem were little believed when they took honour to themselves for the invention Coornhert bases at the same time his own

faith in the local tradition, on "the trustworthy evidence of very old, dignified, and grey heads, who often told me not only the family of the inventor, but also his name and surname, and explained the first crude way of printing, and pointed with their finger the house of the first printer out to me"

This Haarlem tradition was simply repeated in 1567 by Luigi Guicciardini in his description of the Low Countries, also without giving the printer's name From Guicciardini's book, which had wide acceptance, the tradition, given as tradition, was repeated as fact by four several writers upon history and geography during the next twenty years The name of the supposed first printer did not appear until 1588, when the story was given with detail in the "Batavia" of Hadrianus Junius, published at Antwerp in 1588 Lourens Janszoon Coster then appeared as Laurentius Joannes, surnamed Æditus or Custos, who lived in Haarlem in a house of some magnificence, as may be verified by inspection, for it stands intact to this day His invention is here dated "about one hundred and twenty-eight years ago" As the MS, printed in 1588, was completed in 1568, that would place the invention in the year 1440 When strolling in the woods one day, he cut letters in reverse on the back of a beech tree, took impressions of them upon paper, and gave them as a keepsake to the grandchildren of his son-in-law, Thomas Pieterzoon With the aid of his son-in-law he then invented "first of all an ink thicker and more viscid than that of the scribes, for he found that the common ink spread or blotted Thereupon he made, by the addition of letters, explanations for pictures engraved on wood" Having placed among the first books so produced the Dutch edition of the *Speculum Salutis*, Hadrian Junius says that Coster "subsequently changed the beech-wood letters for those of lead, and these again for letters of tin, because tin was a less flexible

Was Lourens Coster the First Printer?

material, harder and more durable" Junius adds that there were yet to be seen, in the very house itself, some old wine flagons made from the melting-down of these first types The art, he adds, was profitable, new assistants were employed, and one of them was a certain John, who, having learnt the art, robbed his master of the typefounding tools on a Christmas night, when all the other workmen were in church, and ran away, first to Amsterdam, then to Cologne, and then to Mayence, where he felt safe enough to open his printing-office Within the space of a year, or about 1442, it is well known that he published, by the aid of the same types which Laurentius Coster had used in Haarlem, the "Doctrinal" of Alexander Gallus, the most popular grammar then in use, and also the "Treatises" of Peter of Spain, which were his first publications Hadrian Junius cites as his particular authority for this story an old man, Nicholas Gallius, once his schoolmaster, who heard it from an old bookbinder who had been under-workman in Coster's office and had heard it from his master The writer who first gives this legend in detail also tells how Margaret Countess of Hennenberg became the mother of 365 children—a miracle, he says, that would be beyond belief if it had not been attested by the authority of public monuments Fragments of the old printed copy of the "Doctrinal" of Alexander Gallus have only been found in the Netherlands, their type is somewhat like that of the *Speculum*, but has essential differences, which show that the types of the two books were not cast from the same moulds

There is no mention of Coster as a printer earlier than the year 1550, when it was placed on a pedigree then made for Gerrit Thomaszoon, one of Coster's descendants, who had kept an inn in the house declared to be the birthplace of the art of printing Here it is said of an ancestor who was Coster's son-in-law, Thomas Pieterzoon, that "his second wife was Lourens Janszoon Coster's daughter, who brought

the first print into the world in the year 1446" The figure 6 in that entry has been partially rubbed out and transformed into o Observation of this fact caused Dr van der Linde to make particular search in the archives of the town and church of Haarlem, and he found, extending over the years from 1441, entries of payments to Lourens Janszoon Coster (son of a Jan Coster who died in 1436), for oil and soap, and for the tallow candles burnt during each year in the Town Hall After 1447, Lourens Janszoon Coster, having given up his business as a tallow chandler to his sister, Ghertruit, Jan Coster's daughter, turned tavern keeper He was paid in 1451 for wine sent to the burgomaster, in 1454 he was credited with seventeen guilders for "a dinner offered to the Count of Oostervant, on the 8th day of October, 1453, at Lou Coster's", in 1475, Lourens Janszoon Coster paid a fine for buyten drincken (drink off the premises), and the last entry is that in 1483 he paid ferry-toll for his goods when he left the town The books of an old Haarlem dining association, the Holy Christmas Corporation, represent Lourens, the son of Jan Coster, inheriting a chair in the Corporation from his father in 1436, and having given up the chair in 1484, with due appearance in 1497 of Gerrit Thomaszoon, who retained also the inn, as a successor to this festive inheritance Lourens Janszoon Coster, the man first credited in Gerrit Thomaszoon's pedigree with the invention of printing, was, therefore, first a chandler, then a prosperous tavern keeper, the wine vessels cast out of his types were the old pewter flagons proper to the tavern, and this man has been wrongly confounded with Laurens Janszoon, whose name was not Coster, but who was a rich wine merchant and innkeeper, town councillor, sheriff, treasurer and governor of the Hospital, who died in 1439

Frielo Gensfleisch, of Mayence, having married Else Gutenberg, had two sons—John, who took his mother's name of Gutenberg, and Frielo, who held to his father's

name of Gensfleisch. John Gutenberg, the real inventor of the art of printing, was born at the close of the fourteenth century, about a year before the death of Chaucer. Strife was common in Mayence between the nobles and the burghers, and in 1420 exactions of the nobles caused Frielo Gensfleisch, among others, to go into exile. Ten years later the Elector, Conrad III., granted an amnesty to exiled citizens, and summoned them to return to Mayence. John Gutenberg, then about thirty years old, was named in this proclamation. His father was then dead, and he was negotiating on his mother's behalf with the magistrates of Mayence for a widow's pension of fourteen guilders that had been allowed her. It was perhaps on this business that John Gutenberg visited Mayence in 1432. Two years afterwards he sought to enforce a claim on the city of Mayence by arresting its town clerk when he happened to visit Strasburg. At the request of the magistrates of Strasburg, he withdrew from his suit, to avoid occasion of dispute between the magistrates of the two cities; but the record of this proceeding shows that Gutenberg was living at Strasburg in 1434. In 1436 he was sued before the court at Strasburg by Anne zur Isernen Thur, Anne of the Irongate, for breach of promise of marriage. There is no entry of judgment, and it probably was stopped by marriage, as the name of Ennel—or Annie—Gutenberg first appears soon afterwards in the tax roll of the city.

John Gutenberg.

On the 12th of December, 1439, Cune Nope, master and counsellor in Strasburg, summed up a case in which Gutenberg was defendant, and which gives us the first glimpse of his labours in the art of printing. The suit was determined in his favour, and there is nothing in the evidence that indicates, in the slightest degree, unfair dealing on his part. He was known in Strasburg as an ingenious man, who had made profit by inventions. Andrew Dritzehn had

for some years derived good profit from a partnership with Gutenberg, whom he had asked to teach him many secrets, and who had taught him the art of polishing stones. Another art by which Gutenberg had profited was the making of mirrors, which may have been by a transference of his improved art of polishing to metal; though small ox-eye mirrors of glass, set in broad ornamental frames, were made early enough in Germany to have become common at the end of the fifteenth century, and Gutenberg may possibly have made such mirrors as these. Long afterwards Gutenberg agreed with Hans Riffe, mayor of Lichtenau, to work up a secret for the fair at Aachen, Gutenberg having two shares in the business and Riffe one. Andrew Dritzehn finding that another secret was to be worked, asked to be admitted to a share in this also, upon Gutenberg's own terms, and partnership was sought also for one Andrew Heilmann. It was then agreed that one of Gutenberg's two shares should be divided between Dritzehn and Heilmann. Gutenberg and Riffe thus had one share each in the partnership, and Dritzehn and Heilmann one share between them. These new partners were to pay 160 guilders for communication of the secret, and each of them was afterwards to give Gutenberg 80 guilders more. The fair at Aachen was postponed for a year, and Dritzehn and Heilmann then proposed to buy partnership with Gutenberg in all his secrets and inventions for a further payment by them of 250 guilders, to be made by instalments. The partnership was for five years, within which time if any partner died, including Gutenberg himself, all the implements pertaining to the secret, and all the merchandise that had been manufactured, should be vested in the remaining partners, and that the heirs of the partner who died should receive at the end of the five years a hundred guilders. Andrew Dritzehn died within the term, still owing 85 guilders to Gutenberg. The suit was by two of his brothers,

The Inventor of Printing

George and Claus, who claimed a right to succeed to Andrew's place in the partnership By the terms of the agreement, 85 guilders were due from the deceased partner, and 100 guilders would be due to his heirs at the end of five years from the date of contract The difference between those sums Gutenberg had offered to pay at once The view taken by the brothers was that as each of the partners, confidently expecting reimbursement and profit, had contributed from his own means, and mortgaged property to push the invention forward, Andrew lost by death the advantage for which he had spent his means, and this should, therefore, be inherited from him by George and Claus But the intention of the contract clearly had been to avoid wider diffusion of the secret in case of a partner's death, and the chance that befell Andrew Dritzehn might have befallen Gutenberg himself One of the witnesses, Hans Dunne, a goldsmith, spoke definitely of his work for Gutenberg, during the past two or three years, as exclusively connected with printing Another witness, Gutenberg's servant, Lorentz Brildick, said, "that on a certain day Gutenberg sent him to the house of Claus Dritzehn after the death of Andrew, his brother, with this message—that he should not show to any person the press in his care Witness went Gutenberg had instructed him minutely, and told him that Claus should go to the press and should turn two buttons, so that the pieces should be detached one from the other, that these pieces should be afterwards placed in the press or on the press, that when this had been done, no one could comprehend its purpose" Other reference in the evidence points also to the conclusion that this single thing in four pieces that should be separated to avoid disclosure of their use, was the form of mould from which Gutenberg's type was to be cast. A modern type mould is a small instrument in three detachable pieces, but there is an old form of it in which a fourth piece serves the purpose of enabling one mould to produce type bodies differing

in size; and it is known that Gutenberg did make at Mayence three fonts of type on bodies slightly differing in size. The inference from this law-case at Strasburg in December, 1439, agrees with the record of Wimpheling, that "in the year of our Lord 1440, John Gutenberg discovered a new method of writing, which is a great good, and almost a divine benefit to the world."

It is possible that Gutenberg may have printed at Strasburg a *Donatus*, of which four leaves are now in the National Library at Paris. In 1441 he was borrowing money; in 1442 he was selling an annuity. The five years' partnership came to an end, and there were still difficulties to be overcome. Gutenberg struggled on alone. Gutenberg seems to have left Strasburg in 1443, when his tax was paid to the city by Ennel Gutenbergen, who is supposed to have been his wife. Nothing is known of his life during the next five years, and we hear no more of Ennel. On the 6th of October, 1448, he was at Mayence, borrowing money through Arnold Gelthus, a kinsman, and leasing from his uncle a house, *zum Jungen*, for his home and printing office. Two leaves of a *Donatus*, printed on vellum from types used by Gutenberg in his first edition of the Bible, have been found near Mayence, in the original binding of an account-book of the year 1451. While gaining strength for greater things, Gutenberg could have earned some money by working as a printer of small school books, or papers of which many copies were required. Pope Nicholas V. issued a plenary indulgence for three years to all who, between May 1, 1452, and May 1, 1455, contributed money for the defence of the King of Cyprus against the Turks. Large numbers of these indulgences to be sold, and three editions of them, dated 1454 and 1455—of which 18 copies are still extant—are found to have been printed with movable types on pieces of parchment, measuring thirteen inches by nine. The types are different, but among them are those used by Gutenberg upon his

printing of the Bible An "Appeal of Christianity against the Turks," written in German, and including the Calendar for 1455, issued, therefore, probably in 1454, is a quarto of six leaves, in the type of Gutenberg's Bible

Of Gutenberg's Bible, printed in folio, there were two editions One has 42 lines in a column, and was usually bound in two volumes, the other, usually bound in three volumes, is in 1,764 pages, and has 36 lines to a column The first discovery was of the Bible of 42 lines in the library of Cardinal de Mazarin from its place of discovery, as we have said, it is known as the "Mazarin Bible" In another copy of it was found the record of an illuminator, that he had finished his illumination of the book in 1456 The first discovery of the Bible of 36 lines was in 1728, by the bibliographer, Schwartz, in the library of a monastery near Mayence A note in the old MS catalogue of the library said that the book had been given to the monastery by John Gutenberg and his associates An account book of the Abbey of St Michael, of Bamberg, which begins with the date March 21, 1460, has some waste leaves of this Bible in its original binding From the inferior workmanship of its first section, and other evidences, it is inferred that the Bible of 36 lines was the edition first printed As not more than six copies of it are known, and nearly all copies and fragments have been found near Bamberg, it has been suggested that this was a small edition, printed for one of the ecclesiastical bodies of that town, or held by it as security for money lent

Gutenberg's Bible

Still pressed in his first years at Mayence by want of money for the proper working out of his ideas, Gutenberg went at last to John Faust, a professional money-lender, with whose brother James, a goldsmith, he had been already in business relations At Strasburg also he had used the goldsmith's art in melting and shaping of metal as the point of departure for his

John Faust

experiments in type-casting John Faust, in August, 1450, joined with Gutenberg in a partnership for five years, within which time the work projected by Gutenberg should be completed The terms of the partnership were, That Faust should lend Gutenberg 800 guilders at six per cent That all tools and materials produced by Gutenberg for use in his art should be mortgaged to Faust till the 800 guilders were repaid That, when the necessary tools and materials were made, Faust should contribute 300 guilders a year for paper, vellum, ink, wages, and other materials required for the execution of the work, and that, in consideration of this, Faust should receive half the profits that accrued from the invention, being at the same time exempt from the performance of any work or service connected with the partnership, and not responsible for any of its debts The 800 guilders were paid as required in the course of the first two of the five years of partnership Gutenberg being then ready to print, Faust compounded for his three annual payments of 300 guilders, by paying 800 guilders at once, and remitting the claim for 48 guilders a year interest upon the capital already lent This arrangement helped the work forward, and looked liberal as well as prudent The result of these arrangements was the production of the printed Latin Bible of 42 lines—the "Mazarin Bible"—at a time when the price of a fair MS copy of the Bible was 500 guilders, and the general resemblance of Gutenberg's Bible to a MS of its own time was very great Gutenberg did not affix to the work printer's name and date, but an illuminator of one copy places his dates of completing the illumination of both the first and second volumes in August, 1456, the printing, therefore, must have been completed or nearly completed by the end of 1455

Capital and Labour.

In that year also the partnership of Faust with Gutenberg came to an end, and Faust immediately claimed repayment of his 800 guilders. He

had secured the full maturing of the invention and the production of a valuable property, but before Gutenberg had begun to reap any reward for his long toil and patient waiting, Faust, with a money-lender's ingenuity, got full possession of the harvest He claimed back all his capital—not only the first 800, but also the second 800, with interest on all He repeated on oath the usual plea that he had himself borrowed the money upon interest, and took Gutenberg by surprise with a demand for 2,020 guilders On the 6th of November, 1455, Faust's claim was allowed, and Faust took in execution all Gutenberg's types, paper, and stock, with the Bibles ready, or within a very few weeks of readiness, for the sale that was to compensate for years of outlay Content with that, Faust seems to have made no further claim for payment of his capital It can hardly be said, on Faust's behalf, that as the five years of partnership were now expired, and as they had been years of outlay with no profit to divide, the relations between Faust and Gutenberg gave him no choice between loss of his money and the delivery of such a stroke as this If time had been allowed to Gutenberg to sell his Bibles, repayment of the capital advanced would have been easy to him

It had been arranged beforehand that when Gutenberg was turned out of his printing-office, a promising young workman, aged 26, named Peter Schœffer, who married afterwards Faust's daughter Christina, should, as Faust's agent, become manager Schœffer was very competent. He understood the work, made one or two improvements in it, and justified Faust's faith in his ability to take the place of the ousted inventor

Peter Schœffer

Gutenberg, some thirty years older than Schœffer, saved what he could out of the wreck, and with the types he had before he knew Faust, and that were not included in any mortgage, he set up in Mayence a new printing-office of his own. He printed with these types

Last years of Gutenberg

a wall calendar for 1457 But he had lost his harvest, and was embarrassed by other debts that he had not the means of paying In 1460 he produced a great folio of 748 pages, double column, from new but ill-cut types, "The Catholicon of John of Genoa," a Dominican Friar, then used as a dictionary in the higher schools * Faust and Schœffer attached their names to their books Gutenberg never used his types for the perpetuation of his own name, or even the most indirect glorification of himself But there is a colophon to his "Catholicon," saying that it was printed and finished at Mayence, in 1460, not by means of pen or pencil, or stencil plate, but by the admirable proportions, harmony, and connection of the punches and matrices, and that this was due to "the assistance of the most High, at whose will the tongues of children become eloquent, and who often reveals to babes what He hides from the wise" It is well to remember that the inventor of the art was one who required no praise for himself, but gave to God his glory

Faust and Schœffer

Faust and Schœffer asserted themselves actively The first book published by Faust after the separation from Gutenberg was a Psalter, in 1457 It was a folio of 175 leaves, and seven copies of it are now known This Psalter was enriched with printed imitations of illuminated letters, engraved and ornamented letters printed in combinations of a dull red and a dull blue laid carefully with the brush upon the several parts of each letter before taking an impression Hand-work was used afterwards upon the printed page for mending and painting over printed letters with a brilliant black, and brightening the illuminated initials with a finer red and clearer blue, but the whole work of illumination may have been by hand, within the forms of letters engraved on a block, and shown only before colouring by a blank impression of the stamp In October, 1458, the chiefs of the Mint in Paris, by order of Charles VII of France, sent

* "E W," vi 216

Nicholas Jensen secretly to Mayence to learn the new art of printing, and be the first to bring it into France The king, says the official record—of which Dr Madden doubts the authenticity—did this because he had "learned that Messire Guthemburg, chevalier, a resident of Mayence in Germany, a man dexterous in engraving and in types and punches, had perfected the invention of printing with types and punches" In 1462, before the sack of Mayence, Faust and Schœffer completed a Bible, the first with a date attached, and Faust appeared in Paris with copies of it before Jensen had turned his acquired knowledge to account, for Charles VII was then dead Faust was well received in Paris, and invited to establish a store for the sale of his books In 1465 Schœffer, the actual manager of the printing office, had married the daughter of his partner Faust, and the first announcement of the new relationship is in the colophon to an edition of Tully's "Offices" "This very celebrated work of Marcus Tullius, I, John Fust, a citizen of Mentz, have happily completed, through the hands of Peter, my son, not with writing ink, nor with pen, nor yet in brass, but with a certain art exceedingly beautiful." In 1466 Faust went again to Paris There was plague in Paris, and he died there in that year He was buried at the Church of St Victor, where there was the first mass for his soul on the 30th of October, 1466 In 1468 Gutenberg was dead An entry in a contemporary MS says that he died on the Thursday before Michaelmas Day, in his sixty-seventh year On the 24th of February, 1468, Doctor Humery acknowledged the receipt of the materials left by Gutenberg in his printing-office On the 23rd of the following May, in issuing his first edition of Justinian's "Institutes," Schœffer named Gutenberg as the inventor of printing, and this was repeated in the second edition of the same book in 1472

After the death of Faust, Schœffer remained active

head of the business, and had agencies in Paris, Lubeck, and Frankfort In April, 1475, he complained that upon the death of his Paris agent, Hermann von Stathoen, all his stock in Paris had been confiscated to the King of France, and that he had thereby suffered a loss of 2,425 gold dollars and 3 sols tournois The German Emperor supporting Schœffer's claim to reimbursement, Louis XI granted to him payment of the whole sum in annual instalments of 800 livres Peter Schœffer, who became in his latter years a judge at Mayence, died at the end of 1502 or the beginning of 1503 The business was continued by his son John Schœffer, who died in 1531

Sack of Mayence Scattering of the Printers

In 1462 Mayence, although a city of 50,000 inhabitants, had been declining in prosperity, and was almost ruined by civil feud Its Archbishop and Elector, by choice of the citizens, was Diether, Count of Isenburg Supported by Pope Pius II , Adolph II , Count of Nassau, claimed the Archbishopric, and levied war against the town On the 28th of October, 1462, by help of those of his faction in Mayence, the troops of Adolph entered the city, put five hundred of its inhabitants to the sword, committed outrages on old and young, sacked the town, publicly sold the plunder in the cattle market, and divided the money Of the citizens who fled, leaving the town half empty, only a few returned, and among those who fled were the workmen of Gutenberg and of Faust and Schœffer Faust's house was burnt, and his printing materials were destroyed or scattered Gutenberg may have already removed his work from Mayence to the neighbouring village of Eltvill, where his mother was born and had some property It was the village occupied by Adolph before the assault on the city, Gutenberg's printing-office was there in 1466, and in 1465 Adolph made him a gentleman of his Court, with yearly provision of a Court dress, twenty mout of corn, and two voer of wine, for "the

agreeable and voluntary service which he has rendered to us and our bishopric "

The printers' workmen scattered by the sack of Mayence carried their knowledge of the art to other cities, and began the diffusion of the art of printing

Before 1462, there was no book certainly known to have been printed out of Mayence, except a Latin Bible in two folio volumes, printed by John Mentel at Strasburg in partnership with Henry Eggestein, dated by the illuminator 1460 in one volume and 1461 in the other (Mentel died in December 1478), except also in 1461, a Book of Fables by Albert Pfister of Bamberg, who had procured some of Gutenberg's worn types, and printed besides a "Book of Four Stories" (Joseph, Daniel, Esther, Judith) at Bamberg in 1462 Ulric Zell carried, in 1462, from Schœffer's printing-offices, after the sack of Mayence, the art of printing to Cologne, where he was employed by the Brotherhood of the Life in Common, at Weidenbach That Brotherhood employed itself in teaching and copying books, and engaged Zell to assist them, with his art of printing, in their pious task In 1466 a book first appeared with his name attached to it, from which it is inferred that he had then left the Brotherhood of Weidenbach and established a business of his own The German printers, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, first carried the art of printing into Italy, and began, in 1465, by printing for the monastery of Subiaco. In 1467 they removed to Rome, where they made fonts of Roman and Greek types, but in 1472 they were representing to the Pope that they had printed 11,475 copies of twenty eight works, that very many of them were unsold, and they themselves in great distress John of Spires began printing at Venice in 1469, but died in 1470 Nicholas Jensen, who had been sent from

Mentel and Eggestein

Ulric Zell

Sweynheym and Pannartz

John of Spires Nicholas Jensen

Paris, in 1458, to learn Gutenberg's art, settled in Venice after the death of John of Spires, and printed his first book there in 1471 in Roman types that satisfied all eyes He became recognised as the best printer of his time Pope Sixtus IV made him a Count Palatine He was dead in February, 1482, and his printing-office passed to a company, of which Aldus Manutius was a member Aldus, the ablest man in the company, married the daughter of Andrew Torresani, the manager, and became the leader in the enterprise All the large towns of Italy were active in promoting the new art, but it advanced most rapidly in Venice In Paris, Ulrich Gering, Michael Friburger, and Crantz began to print in 1469 In England the first printer was William Caxton, who dated the "Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers" from the Abbey of Westminster in 1477

Aldus Manutius

First Printers in Paris and London

CHAPTER XIV

WILLIAM CAXTON

William Caxton

WILLIAM CAXTON was born, he says, "in Kente in the weeld, where I doubte not is spoken as brode and rude Englissh as is in ony place of England" Edward III had settled Flemish cloth-workers in the weald of Kent, that Englishmen, instead of sending their wool to the looms in Flanders, might weave it at home If Caxton was of Kentish ancestry, he may have been kin to the Caustons, who before his time, but not in his time, had a manor in the weald near Hadlow When Caxton was born is inferred from an entry in the Warden's accounts of the Mercers' Company, which shows that he was apprenticed in 1438, on the 24th of June, to Robert Large Apprenticeships were for various terms seven years being the shortest. Each term was arranged to end when the apprentice had attained his civic majority by completing the age of twenty-four Caxton says that his parents gave him a good education. If they apprenticed him when he was seventeen years old, he must have been born in 1421, but if he was younger when apprenticed, the date of his birth would be proportionately later. Robert Large, the mercer to whom Caxton was bound in 1438, became in 1439 Lord Mayor of London. He lived in a great house at the north end of the Old Jewry, where William Caxton, bound on the same day with his master's youngest son, became one of eight apprentices Robert Large died on the 24th of April,

1441, and his will included, among bequests to five apprentices, twenty marks for William Caxton, who had not then completed the third year of his service The usages of trade required his transfer to another master, and Caxton probably completed his apprenticeship abroad, for in the Mercers' Books there is no record of his transfer in England or of his becoming freeman of his guild, and Caxton says, in the prologue to the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," written in 1471, that he had then been abroad for thirty years The round number would be also the exact number, if he left England after his master's death in 1441, when he was, at most, twenty years old

Of Caxton's life during the next nine years no record has been found, but in 1450—at the age, say, of twenty-seven or twenty-eight—he was a merchant at Bruges John Granton a rich merchant of the Staple at Calais, owed to an English merchant at Bruges, William Craes, £110, for payment of which two English merchants of Bruges, John Selle and William Caxton, were sureties In Granton's absence, William Craes sued his sureties before the burgomasters of Bruges, and there remains a record of the suit. Selle and Caxton admitted their liability, but pleaded that as Granton was rich, Craes should look to him for the money, if, indeed it had not been paid The burgomasters required payment from the sureties, but a twofold restitution if it should be shown by John Granton, when next he came to Bruges, that the money had been paid

In 1453 William Caxton came to London from Bruges with two other traders, and was admitted with them to the Livery of the Mercers' Company Liverymen of the Mercers' Company then formed a considerable part of the Association of Merchant Adventurers, which was chiefly founded by the Mercers in the thirteenth century as the Guild of St Thomas à Becket. Until 1526 the Association, formed for the protection of the rights and interests of English traders

in foreign towns, had its London headquarters in Mercers' Hall In 1407 Henry IV had given authority to the English merchants in each foreign State to elect a governor, with power to make minor ordinances for the regulation of the English trade In April, 1462 the Merchant Adventurers obtained a larger charter, under which William Obray was appointed Governor of the English Merchants at Bruges After the following midsummer, William Caxton was acting as governor, and at a Court of Adventurers held in Mercers' Hall on the 16th of August, 1465, three mercers having complained that they had received bad measure in length and breadth of cloth and lawn, it was decided that a letter for reformation of the abuse should be sent to "William Caxton, Governor beyond the sea" This office of Governor of the "English Nation" at Bruges Caxton held until 1469 It was held under the Mercers' Company, and gave authority to seal goods for exportation, to appoint folders and packers to make up the merchants' bales, correctors and brokers to witness bargains, to make trade regulations (if they did not cross international law), to decide disputes, and to pass sentence in a court consisting of himself and twelve justices, who were chosen, subject to his approval, by the community of merchants and mariners He had six sergeants to do the executions and arrests of his court, and he lived at Bruges as head of a guild house of the English nation, who dined at a common table, slept under the same roof, were required to be indoors by a given time every evening, and allowed no women within the walls

On the 24th of October, 1464—when his age was about forty-two—William Caxton was joined with Sir Richard Whitehill in a commission for renewal of a treaty of trade between England and the Low Countries, for a period that would end on the 1st of November, 1465 The Duke of Burgundy did not renew the treaty, but began to wage commercial war with England He stopped the bringing of

English-made cloth into his dominions Flemish goods were then shut out of England, and the traders on both sides were compelled to add to the mysteries of their craft the ingenuities of smuggling The Earl of Warwick wrote to Caxton that he must enforce at Bruges the English Act of Parliament forbidding English merchants to buy Flemish wares Caxton, in May, 1466, sent this order to the Lord Mayor of London and the Wardens of the Mercers' Company Their reply to William Caxton, governor of the English nation in Bruges, was that the Act must be observed, and that he must enforce the fines for the infringement of it Caxton's office must, therefore, have been full of trouble until the death of Philip Duke of Burgundy, on the 15th of June, 1467 His son and successor, Charles the Bold, married the Princess Margaret of England, sister to Edward IV, at Bruges, on the 5th of June, 1468 Caxton, as governor of the English merchants in the town, could hardly have been absent from the wedding In the following September Caxton was joined with William Redeknafe and John Pykeryng, ambassadors to the Duke of Burgundy, for the re establishment of the woollen trade, and in October the old treaty was renewed

Within the next twelve months the change began in William Caxton's life that made his life part of the history of English literature On the first of March, 1469 (old style, 1468), he began to translate "Le Recueil des Histories de Troye," writing in that year five or six quires—in all about fifty leaves—of his translation, and then laying it aside In the record of a court of merchants that gave judgment at Bruges, in Caxton's absence, on the 12th of May, 1469, occurs the last mention of Caxton as Master Governor of the English merchants there Caxton's way of life was bringing him more and more into relation with the nobles about the Court of the King of England's sister Margaret, now Duchess of Burgundy It may have

been about this time that Caxton married A daughter of his lived to marry Gerard Crippe, a merchant tailor, and to be separated from him in May, 1496 This daughter was formally named Elizabeth Of her mother nothing is known, but possibly she was named Maude, for there was a Maude Caxton buried at St Margaret's, Westminster, in 1490 In October, 1470, Edward IV was a fugitive from England to his sister's Court, and Caxton had opportunity of strengthening his friendships among courtiers friendly to the house of York The first evidence of his being attached by yearly salary to the service of the Duchess Margaret occurs when he tells us that, two years after he had laid aside his translation of the "Recuyell," he received her command to finish it, and did finish it on the 19th of September of the same year, 1471 Monarchs and nobles traded in those days In 1472, Edward granted to his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, special privileges in aid of her own private trade in English wool Caxton's knowledge as a trader might, therefore, have been of great value to her, while he would be drawn from the society of Merchant Adventurers to that of men like Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, by intellectual tastes that won recognition among the most cultivated men about the Court, and thus opened to him a world of thought whose centre of gravity was not always in a wool-pack

Caxton's first literary work was his translation of ' Le Recueil des Histories de Troye" He says of it in his Prologue to the First Book "When I remember that every man is bounden by the commandment and counsel of the wise man to eschew sloth and idleness, which is mother and nourisher of vices, and ought to put myself unto virtuous occupation and business, then I, having a great charge of occupation, following the said counsel, took a French book and read therein many strange and marvellous histories wherein I had great pleasure and delight, as well

for the novelty of the same as for the fair language of French which was in prose so well and compendiously set and written, which methought I understood the sentence and substance of every matter And for so much as this book was new and late made" [it had been written in 1464] "and drawn into French, and never had seen it in our English tongue, I thought in myself it should be a good business to translate it into our English, to the end that it might be had as well in the royaume of England as in other lands, and also for to pass therewith the time, and thus concluded in myself to begin this said work" The English version of the Romance of Troy was in such demand at the Court of Burgundy that Caxton's endeavour to make copies caused his hand to grow "weary and not stedfast," and his eyes to be "dimmed with overmuch looking on the white paper" Just at that time Colard Mansion, a skilful copyist of Bruges, was first introducing into that town the newly discovered art of printing Many MS copies were being made, and are still extant, of Caxton's translation His attention having thus been drawn to the convenience of the printing press, Caxton "learned," as he tells us, "to ordain this book in print at my great charge and expense"

Colard Mansion, who was a member of the Guild of St John at Bruges, and Dean of the Guild in 1471 and 1472, was a copyist and illuminator He was in high credit as a copyist, and produced books for the wealthy He had fifty-four livres in 1450 from the Duke of Burgundy for a copy, now in the Royal Library of Brussels, of the novel of "Romuleon," richly illuminated * He spent time upon his work that left him with small payment for many days of labour He lived in one of the poorest streets of Brussels, leading out of the Rue des Carmes, and learnt the

* There is another in the British Museum, of which the late William Blades observed that it is "written in characters exactly like the types used twenty years later by Colard Mansion"

art of printing that he might multiply copies with more profit to himself He took for his printing-offices two rooms over the porch of the Church of St Donatus, for a rent of about six livres a year, and there finished, in May, 1484, an edition of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," in 386 folio leaves, with many woodcuts Each leaf was printed separately, and folio was used to reduce the amount of machine labour Three months afterwards Colard Mansion left Bruges, a ruined man Where he went none knew—perhaps to Paris, where there were a Paul and Robert Mansion, printers, in the seventeenth century

Mansion's first dated books

His first printed books with a date to them are two that belong to the year 1476, another is dated 1477 In a book dated 1478, Colard Mansion first practised the spacing of letters, so as to avoid uneven lines upon the page Four undated books with lines of uneven length were probably produced before 1476, as the dated books of 1476 and 1477 contain as many pages as may fairly be supposed to reach the limit of his power of production Of two forms of type used by Colard Mansion, the first is that which was used by Caxton in the printing of his "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," of which he said, "I have learned to ordain this book in print at my great charge and expense " In this he tells us that he began the translation at Bruges on the 1st of March, 1468 (1469 new style), and after writing six quires, ceased until March, 1471, when he resumed the work and finished it at Cologne on the 19th of September in that year The book then translated, "Le Recueil des Histories de Troye," had been compiled in 1464 by Raoul Le Fèvre, when he was chaplain to Philip Duke of Burgundy, who died in 1467

It is inferred from the fact that Caxton's translation of this book was finished at Cologne, where Conrad Winters set up his press in 1470, that he was then and there

drawn to the practical study of the art of printing The late William Blades, whose full study of Caxton* is the best authority upon the subject, finding clear evidence that Caxton's first known books were printed with Colard Mansion's types, believes that the first study was made at Bruges, where he paid for the facilities he needed It has been suggested that Caxton and Mansion learnt printing together at Cologne, before Mansion set up his press in Bruges Wynkyn de Worde, in printing an undated edition of Bartholomæus "de Proprietatibus Rerum," says in his Proheme

Caxton at Cologne

> "And also of your charyte call to remembraunce
> The soule of William Caxton, first prynter of this boke
> In laten tonge at Coleyn"

No trace has been found of such a book, but that authority is not lightly to be set aside, though it be, as William Blades urged, the statement of an inexact man who blunders much But as no date is given, we are free to suppose that Caxton, having begun to learn printing with Colard Mansion at Bruges, took a later opportunity of adding to his knowledge, by work with the printers in Cologne He joined his taste for literature with his business habits in resolving that it would be very much to his own advantage, as well as to his country's, if he learned the art of printing, obtained the necessary stock-in-trade, and speculated in the setting up of the first printing press in England To that end he might wish to become acquainted with the working of the new art, not in Cologne only, but, if possible, in other places, setting types with his

*"The Life and Typography of William Caxton," 2 vols 4to, 1861, 1863, compacted afterwards with revision into 1 vol 8vo, as "The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer" By William Blades London and Strassburg, 1877

own hand, observing carefully, and acquiring a complete knowledge of every detail

"The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye"

The date of the printing of the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye" is usually supposed to be 1474 It is not given in the book itself, but the beginning of the printing, in those days a slow process, was after the finishing of the translation in September, 1471, and there were 778 folio pages, each printed separately The date of the completion of the translation is on the first page, in the same sheet with the beginning of the book, which seems to have been Caxton's first experiment in printing It is the book that he says he "learned" to ordain in print at his own great charge Colard Mansion must have worked not only for him but with him, as his desire was not simply to get one book printed but to begin to learn the printer's art Colard Mansion probably printed soon afterwards on his own account, with the same types, the French original The next piece of work in which Caxton and Colard Mansion were engaged together was the printing of "The Game and Playe of the Chesse"

"The Game and Playe of the Chesse"

"The Game and Playe of the Chesse" is a moral treatise, translated by Caxton chiefly from a French version—*Le Jeu des Echecs Moralise*, made about the year 1347 by the Dominican friar Jean de Vignay, under the patronage of the Duchess of Burgundy, from a book written about the year 1290 by Jacobus de Cessolis, or Casulis—that is, of Casale—also Dominican Friar, *Liber Moralis de Ludo Scaccorum* The book, partly based upon the *De Regimine Principum* of Ægidius Colonna, written before 1285, was translated also into French by Jean Ferron, and also translated into German prose and verse by Conrad von Almenhusen Jean Ferron's translation Caxton also knew and used

"The Game and Playe of the Chesse" is in four tractates

The first tells the origin of the game. There was a king in Babylon named Evilmerodach, "a jolly man without justice, and so cruel that he did do hew" (cause to be hewn) "his father's body in three hundred pieces, and gave it to eat and devour to three hundred birds that men call vultures." Under this king the game was invented by an Eastern philosopher named, in Chaldee, Exerses, or in Greek, Philematos, which is as much to say in English as he that loveth justice and measure. When he saw the sinful life of the king, he would rather die than not admonish him. So he invented Chess. And when the king Evilmerodach saw the play, and the barons, knights, and gentlemen of his court play with the philosopher, he marvelled greatly of the beauty and novelty of the play, and desired to play against the philosopher. The philosopher answered and said to him that it might not be done but if he first learned the play. The King said it was reason, and that he would put him to the pain to learn it. Then the philosopher began to teach him, and to show him the manner of the table of the chess-board and the chess-men. And also the manners and the conditions of a king, of the nobles, and of the common people, and of their offices, and how they should be touched and drawn, and how he should amend himself and become virtuous. When the king heard that, he reproved him, and demanded him, upon pain of death, to tell him whereupon he had founded and made this play. And he answered, "My right dear lord and king, the greatest and most thing that I desire is that thou have in thyself a glorious and virtuous life," and so forth. The play was first to teach the king to be master over himself; secondly, to keep him out of idleness; and thirdly, to satisfy the natural desire of every man to know and hear novelties and tidings. That first tractate having explained why chess was invented, the second indicates the constitution of a state in its rulers, in five chapters upon the

superior chess-men, king, queen, alphyn (judge), knight, and rook (vicar or legate of the king) The third tractate set forth the places of the other members of the commonwealth in eight chapters on the pawns, each pawn standing for a class, one for the labourers, one for the smiths, one for the merchants and changers, etc A fourth tractate moralised the chess-board and the moves of the several pieces, and all ended with an "Epilogation and Recapitulation," giving a summary of the whole book in its three last pages

Caxton's epilogue to his translation ends with the words, "finished the last day of March, 1474," which may refer either to the writing or to the printing There was a second edition, in the prologue of which Caxton said that the original came into his hands "at such time as I was resident in Bruges," that he translated it, and when he had done so "I did do set in imprinte" a certain number That phrase means that he "caused to be printed," not that he himself then printed A copy of Caxton's "Game and Playe of the Chesse" was sold in 1885, at the Osterley Park sale, for £1,950

Colard Mansion's books

Two French books besides the French *Recueil*, namely, *Les Fais du Jason*, by Raoul Lefevre, secretary to the Duke of Burgundy, and *Meditacions sur les sept pseaulmes penitenciaulx*, by Cardinal Pierre D'Ailly—written in Latin at the end of the fourteenth century, and soon afterwards translated into French—are found to have been printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion, with the same types and in the same manner as these first two of the books issued by Caxton, which we may assume, therefore, to have been printed at Bruges

But there was another fount of type which Caxton bought and took with him to England—the type, therefore, in which he set up his first books at Westminster And it

is noticeable that there is a book in French—Caxton never printed French books—"Les Quatres Derrenieres Choses," printed in that second form of type which Caxton took to London, and showing a distinctive feature of Mansion's work at Bruges in its way of managing an impression of two colours by one pull of the press Moreover there is occasional use, by mistake, of a form of "&c" that belonged only to the earlier fount of type From this it is to be inferred that the types brought by Caxton to London had been cast for him while he was at Bruges, and had been used in Colard Mansion's printing-offices before William Caxton, after thirty-five years' residence in that city, sailed for England with his stock of types and presses, in the year 1476 In the following year, 1477, on the 18th of November, the first book printed by him in England, "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," was described as "enprynted by me william Caxton, at westmestre," and was the first book of his that gives printer's name, with place and date of publication Lord Spencer's copy at Althorpe includes the day of the month

Caxton's First Types

"Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers"

"The Dictes and notable wise Sayings of the Philosophers," the first book printed in England, was a translation made from a French book, "Les Dits moraux des Philosophes" The translation was made by Anthony Woodville, brother to Edward the Fourth's queen, Elizabeth, of whose court Caxton had made many friends in Bruges The copy of Caxton's "Recuyell," which belonged to this Queen, and contains her autograph, is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and cost a thousand guineas at the Roxburghe sale in 1812 It would now bring twice as much She was the daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, created Baron Rivers in 1448, and was Dame Elizabeth, young widow of Sir John Grey, a knight slain at the second battle of St Alban's, when

Anthony Woodville

Edward IV. came upon her and was fascinated, and married her privately on May day in 1464. In the same year her brother Anthony, translator of the "Dictes," who was Lord Scales by right of his wife, had a grant made to him of the Isle of Wight, with the Castle of Carisbrooke and all other rights appertaining to the lordship, to him and his heirs male. It was he who built the towered castle gate. In May, 1466, the rank of Queen Elizabeth's father was raised from Baron to Earl. After the defeat of Edward's army at Edgecote on the 26th of July, 1469, the Queen's father, Earl Rivers, was pursued and captured, together with his son, Sir John Woodville, in the Forest of Dean. The prisoners were taken to Northampton and there beheaded. Anthony Woodville then succeeded to his father's title and became Earl Rivers. That was a few months after Caxton had begun to translate the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye." In 1473 Anthony Woodville made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. While on the voyage a Gascon knight, Louis de Bretaylles, showed him a copy of the French "Dits moraux des Philosophes." He borrowed it, and translated it after his return to England, when he was made one of the Governors of the Prince of Wales. He was among William Caxton's friends at court, and greatly interested in his printing work. His translation of the "Dits moraux des Philosophes" he gave Caxton to "oversee" and print. It was printed accordingly at Westminster—with an added chapter touching women, introduced by a pleasant prologue of Caxton's own writing—in 1477, six years before Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, was beheaded, on the 25th of June, 1483, by Richard Duke of Gloucester, on the last day of the nominal reign of Edward V.

Caxton worked hard at Westminster, not only at his management of the first English press; he spent also much time in indefatigable labour to supply translations of such

books as he thought worth giving in English He was a good linguist, with a sense of literature, and a shrewd man of business who, in every sense, desired to turn his time to good account He would print what was worth printing, for the good wit or good purpose that was in it, on condition that he had fair expectation of purchasers The translations that he made himself would, it is said, fill more than four thousand five hundred printed pages Caxton worked for English readers He could not, in those days, have printed Wyclif's Bible without ruin to himself, if he had wished to do so He touched no burning questions, and the books printed by him were of the kind that gentlemen in his day wished to possess The whole body of books printed by him make a larger library than that at Paston Hall, of which we have seen the contents,* but they were selected on exactly the same principle It has been objected against Caxton that he did not interest himself in the discoveries then being made of Latin texts, and showed none of the regard for Latin scholarship that distinguished Sweynheym and Pannartz, whom it ruined, but why quarrel with our good home-brewed for not being Falernian? Caxton was essentially an English Printer He lost no time in printing Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," for which his countrymen cared more than for the finding and printing of a lost book of Cicero In Italy the case was different

Caxton's Press at Westminster

Foreign Scholars English Readers

Four years after the production at Mayence of the first printed Bible, there died at Florence, in 1459, a famous Italian scholar, Poggio Bracciolini, who was the chief representative of the activity of the Italian intellect in search for the lost MSS which contained treasures of ancient thought Petrarch had been active in this direction,† for Poggio the search was a passion, and its successes were many and great He was

Poggio Bracciolini

* "E W" vi 263 † "E W" iv 21

the first who found a complete copy of Quintilian It was in the monastery of St Gall, buried under rubbish with some other treasure in the cellar-floor or dungeon of a tower, "not even," said Poggio, "a fit residence for a condemned criminal" He discovered also several lost orations of Cicero, and, among his other recoveries to literature, were Lucretius, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Columella, and Tertullian Through an agent, Nicholas of Trèves, whom Poggio employed to search the monasteries of Germany, twelve were added to the eight comedies which had been all that were left of Plautus

John of Gaunt's wealthy Churchman son, Cardinal Beaufort, when Bishop of Winchester, tempted Poggio to England with good promises, and the Italian scholar came among us in the year 1419 While he was searching English monasteries, and finding nothing that he cared for but the "Chronicle of Sigebert," while he was also suing Beaufort for fulfilment of his promises, he was tantalised by the news that others had found in Italy the whole of Cicero's "De Oratore," besides other of his works After much trouble with Beaufort—Poggio says that "the mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse'—he was offered a benefice, nominally, not actually, worth one hundred and twenty florins No letters of his from England have been published, and there is no suggestion of literature in the occasional mention of us in his writings He reports of the desire of English nobles to live in the country and own large estates, not thinking it derogatory to trade in the produce of their land He reports also their respect for dinners, even if they should meet a host ten days after he had given them a dinner, they never omitted the ceremony of thanks for his entertainment There were county families and dinner parties, there was hunting, too, in high esteem, as Juliana Berners witnesses

Visits England

Dame Julyans Barnes, otherwise Juliana Berners, is

supposed to have been born at the close of the fourteenth century, at Roding-Berners, hundred of Dunmow, in Essex. She is doubtfully described as daughter to a Sir James Berners, beheaded in 1388 as one of the evil counsellors of Richard II., and it is said that she was living in 1460, and was Lady Prioress of Sopwell, a nunnery founded about the year 1140, near St. Alban's, in which Abbey of St. Alban's her writings in her native tongue, or the translated works ascribed to her, of Hawking, Hunting, "Lynage of Coote Armires," and "Blasyng of Armys" (which last is described as a translation), were first printed in 1486. She is called Dame because her name is written "Dam Julyans Barnes" in the colophon to the first impression of the Book of Hunting, much of which, as well as of the Hawking, is translation from the "Venerie de Twety" of the time of Edward II. The nuns were classed as Dames, or choir-nuns, who usually had property and paid for their maintenance, and as Lay-sisters, who, being less rich, waited on the Dames. But a Lay-sister would become a Dame if she were promoted to sing in the choir, or if, as might be, she were elected Abbess. The "Treatise on Fishing with an Angle" was first added in Wynken de Worde's second edition of 1496, which had three wood-cuts, one being of fishing. That Dame Juliana Berners, if there was such a Lady Prioress, herself went hunting and hawking, is possible,* for we have read of canons who "give alms to their dogs, not to the poor," of rectors who, "when they

Juliana Berners.

* The text of the treatises of Juliana Berners, as printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1496, was published in 1811, with full biographical and bibliographical introduction by Mr. Joseph Haslewood in "Literary Researches into the History of the Book of St. Alban's." In 1883 an older form of the "Treatyse of Fysshinge with an Angle," from a paper MS. of the earlier half of the 15th century, in the possession of Mr. Alfred Denison of Albemarle Street, was published, with a Preface and Glossary by Thomas Satchell.

speak of God, think of a hare," and of the monk, an outrider, "who loved venerie"

> "Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
> Was all his lust, for no cost wolde he spare"

The other pieces being in prose, the "Book of Hunting" is written in rhyme, after this fashion.

Bestys of Venery

> "Where so euer ye fare by fryth or by fell,
> My dere chylde take hede how Trystam doo you tell
> How many manere bestys of venery there were
> Lysten to your dame and she shall you leere
> Foure manere bestis of venere there are
> The fyrste of theym is the harte the seconde is the hare,
> The boore is one of tho the wulfe and not one mo!"

But as the cruelty of the old forest laws was fading already into the past, that feudal spirit also which made the great nobles of England, as Poggio said, "deem it disgraceful to reside in cities, and prefer living in retirement in the country," was about to give way to the rising influence and wealth of towns

From this glance at the revival abroad of a scholarship in which neither Caxton nor his English public had a part, and at the spirit of the wealthier class in England for which Caxton sought to provide books wholesome and welcome, we return to the work of the printer

Caxton's types at Westminster

The activity of Caxton's press required from time to time renewals or changes of its types, and by a study of their differences it is possible to bring undated volumes within dated groups

The first type used was that of Colard Mansion at Bruges, in which Caxton printed his "Recuyell" and "The Game and Play of Chesse", but Colard Mansion the French "Recueil," "Les Fais de Jason," and the "Meditacions"

The second type used was that brought from Bruges,

with which Caxton began his business at Westminster. It had been used also at Bruges by Colard Mansion in printing, in 1476, "Les Quatre Derrenieres Choses." With this type Caxton first printed, at Westminster, the "Dictes and notable Wise Sayings of the Philosophers," the first book printed in England. It was followed, in the same year, by a translation into English of the French "Fais de Jason," which had been printed by Colard Mansion. These were all folios, the folio size being preferred for larger books because it yielded the greatest amount of printed matter to each pull at the press, and so diminished labour of production. For shorter pieces they used quarto size. But the next book, being a devotional book, "Horæ ad Usum Sarum," was meant to be carried and held in the hand. It was, therefore, the smallest book from Caxton's press. There were two later editions of it; of the first edition there remains only a fragment, which is in the Douce Collection at Oxford. It was found in an old book-cover. In this type, used only in the years 1477, 1478, Caxton printed the first folio of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" without printer's name, place, or date; also, in separate quartos, Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules," with some Balades and the Envoy of Chaucer to Scogan, under the title of "The Temple of Brass;" and Chaucer's "Anelida and Arcite," of which impression there is a unique copy in the Cambridge University. With these types he printed, also in folio, Chaucer's translation of "Boethius on the Consolation of Philosophy." Within the two years of his settlement in Westminster, Caxton printed with these types from Bruges, in quarto, Lydgate's "The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose," also his "Temple of Glass," his "Chorle and the Bird," in two editions, and his school book teaching Latin and good manners, "Stans Puer

"History of Jason."

Sarum Missal.

First printings of Chaucer.

First printings from Lydgate.

ad Mensam" He printed also with these types within his first two years at Westminster another translation furnished to him by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, the metrical "Moral Proverbs" of Christine of Pisan, a learned French poetess, born in Italy, whose father had been physician to Charles V of France She married Etienne Castel at fifteen, lost her husband while yet young, and wrote her "Proverbes Moraulx" as sequel to a book of "Enseignmens Moraux," designed for her son, Jean Castel, who was in England in the service of the Earl of Salisbury At the close of this book Caxton falls into a rough way of rhyme in setting his own name to it as printer—

'Moral Proverbs' of Christine of Pisan translated by Anthony Woodville

"At Westminstre, of feverer the xx daye
And of kyng Edward the xvij yere vraye
Enprinted by Caxton
In feverer the colde seson"

Another book printed by Caxton in these first two years of his work at Westminster was a "Parvus Catho," in two editions "Catho" was the Dionysius Cato of the Moral Distichs to his Son These began with a preface from the author, whose personality is unknown, to his supposed son, proceeded to fifty-six simple injunctions to a boy, and then gave a hundred and sixty-four moral precepts, each contained in a distich of two dactylic hexameters In 1180 Daniel Churche, an ecclesiastic at the Court of Henry II, added a few introductory precepts which were known as "Catho Parvus," and were usually transcribed together with the original, called "Catho Magnus" Benedict Burgh * translated both into Chaucer stanza, and, as he became Canon of Westminster in 1476, he must have known Caxton, and probably himself suggested the printing of the "Catho"

"Catho"

* "E W," vi 161

The "Parvus Catho" was twice printed in quarto in 1477-78, and Caxton printed Burgh's Parvus and Magnus Cato in folio in 1481

Three other pieces in quarto were printed with this first type, "Infancia Salvatoris," "Propositio Johannis Russell," and the first edition of the "Book of Courtesy" Of the "Infancia Salvatoris," on eighteen printed leaves, the only copy now to be found is in the library of the University of Gottingen It is founded upon the apocryphal "Evangelium Infantiæ" ascribed to St James The "Propositio Johannis Russell" is an oration delivered by Dr John Russell, in high repute for eloquence, who was made, in 1449, Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1466, Archdeacon of Berkshire, in 1476, Bishop of Rochester, and in 1480 was translated to Lincoln The particular speech printed by Caxton was delivered in February, 1470, new style, on the investiture of the Duke of Burgundy with the order of the Garter As he had been employed before that date in the negotiations between England and Flanders for the adjustment of trade, he must have worked with Caxton in those matters He died in 1494, having been made Chancellor of Oxford for his life "The Book of Courtesy" is in fourteen leaves of rhymed doctrine addressed to a little John, who is admonished how to begin his day with proper regard to the body and the soul, how to be courteous in the house or street, devout in church, to look men honestly in the face, use, when at table, manners and moderation, avoid backbiters and backbiting of absent men, learn to dance and to play harp and lute, read Gower, Chaucer, Occleve, Lydgate, and be courteous and show reverence to women The only known copy of this piece of Caxton's printing is in the Public Library at Cambridge *

"Infancia Salvatoris"

Oration of Dr John Russell

* Its text has been edited, with that of two MSS, by Dr Furnivall

The first evidence of recasting, with some additions of type, is in Caxton's edition of a translation of the book published in French by Colard Mansion, "Les Quatre Derrenieres Choses Advenir" The French book was a translation made in 1453 by Jean Mielot, one of the several secretaries employed by Philip the Good for the enrichment of his library It was translated from a Latin original by Gerardus a Vliedenhoven, but there were other treatises of the same kind by other writers The translation from French into English printed by Caxton was another of the works of that kind which he received from Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers It was given to him by Lord Rivers on the 2nd of February, 1479 (new style), the printing of its seventy-eight folio leaves was begun next day, finished on the 24th of March, and the book issued as "Cordyale, or The Four Last Things" Here there is evidence of a recast of the type brought from Bruges, with variation The recast was used from 1479 to 1481, and there was used with it from 1479 to 1484, for headlines, another set of a Missal type, not generally suited for the text of books Caxton printed with it only a Handbill in 1478, a second edition of the "Book of Hours," a Psalter and a "Directorium Sacerdotum" In the recast type, after the "Cordyale," Caxton printed, in 1480, a second edition of the "Dictes and Sayings," and a second edition in 1482 of the "Game of the Chesse," with Benet Burgh's "Parvus et Magnus Catho" He printed also with these types in 1480 the "Margarita Eloquentiæ" of the Franciscan friar Laurence of Savona, the birthplace of Columbus,

"Cordyale, or the Four Last Things," translated by Anthony Woodville

Other printing by Caxton in 1479, 1480

in the extra series of the Early English Text Society, "Caxton's Book of Curtesye, printed at Westminster about 1477 8, A D, and now reprinted with two MS copies of the same treatise from the Oriel MS 79, and the Balliol MS 354 Edited by Frederick J Furnivall, M A. 1868"

"The Mirrour of the World"

which is not far from Genoa Friar Laurentius Gulielmi de Traversanis of Savona was born about 1414, studied at Padua, Bologna, Cambridge, Paris, and died in his Convent of Savona He finished his book at Cambridge on the 6th of July, 1478, it was, therefore, printed after that date Caxton ceased in 1480 to print pages with lines of uneven length This book is printed in lines of uneven length Its 124 leaves were produced, therefore, at the close of 1478, in 1479, or early in 1480 Caxton printed also in this type, on parchment, a short Letter of Indulgence, dated on the last day of March, and issued in 1480 by John Kendal, Grand Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in England, by authority of Pope Sixtus IV, for assistance at the siege of Rhodes There was also, upon a hundred leaves of folio, "The Mirrour of the World," translated and printed in the year 1481, with wood engravings It was a book translated from a Latin "Speculum vel Imago Mundi" in 1245, for the Duke of Berry, into French verse, which was afterwards turned by a Maistre Gossouin—unless that be only the name of a copyist—into French prose From that prose Caxton made his translation in 1481 at the request of Hugh Brice, of the Mercers' Company, citizen and alderman of London, and, like Caxton, a Kentish man, who wished for the book as a present to Lord Hastings Brice was knighted in 1472, and went with Dr John Russell to the trade conferences in Flanders, which must have brought him into relations with Caxton He was Governor of the Mint under Lord Hastings, and Mayor of London in 1494, two years before his death

In this type also Caxton printed in 1481 translations of Cicero "de Senectute" and "de Amicitia," together with a "Declamation of Noblesse," which was translated by the Earl of Worcester from a French translation that Jean Mielot made from the Latin of an author whom he called

Surse Pistoie. The Earl of Worcester was also the translator of "Cicero on Friendship," from the French of the priest Laurent de Premierfait, who translated both that and the book on "Old Age" in 1405, by command of Louis, Duke of Bourbon. The translation from Laurent's version of the "De Senectute" that Caxton printed was by Sir John Fastolf's secretary, William of Worcester.*

The most interesting of the books printed by Caxton with this fount of type was the first edition of the "History of Reynard the Fox,"† in eighty-five folio leaves. Caxton says of this book, "I have not added ne mynusshed, but haue folowed as nyghe as I can my copye whiche was in Dutche, and by me Willm Caxton translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in thabbey of westmestre, fynysshed the vi daye of Juyn the yere of our Lord M CCCC LXXXI and the xxi yere of the regne of kynge Edward the iiiith."

"Reynard the Fox."

Jacob Grimm believed that these fables of beasts—applied, with a strong national feeling, to corruption growing among strong men who wronged the poor and used religion only as a cloak for violence and fraud—were from their origin Teutonic. Like fables elsewhere could in great measure be accounted for by the like suggestion of natural resemblance between beasts and men. But it has been observed that the earliest known use of such fabling by a German writer is in Fredegar's "Chronicle," quoted under the year 612 as a "*rustica fabula*" of the Lion, the Fox, and the Stag, which distinctly follows Æsop, and undergoes change afterwards from the fancy of narrators. A story also in the version used by Caxton of the remedy suggested by the Fox to the sick Lion comes from Æsop. This was developed in the eighth century in a Latin poem ascribed to the Lombard Paulus Diaconus, who may have had it at the court of Charlemagne as matter already familiar among the

* "E. W." vi. 262. † "E. W." iii. 152, 153.

Franks Either from Byzantium or through contact with Rome, such fables could readily have passed into the hearing or the reading of Teutonic monks, who cared about God and the people, steeped the fables in minds active for reform, and developed them, as the Teutonic races developed also the Arthurian myths, into shapes inseparable from their nationality

The sick Lion reappears in the tenth century in the oldest poem elaborated as a Beast Epic, the "Ecbasis cujusdam Captivi." Its author belonged to the monastery of St Evre, at Toul Strict reforms among the brethren, in the year 936, caused his "Ecbasis"—his going out He was brought back, and as a sign of his regeneration wrote the poem, in which he figured himself "*per tropologiam*" as a calf, who, having gone out from safety, became captive to the wolf The "Ecbasis" has already incidents that become further developed in the myth of "Reynart"

The next stage of growth is marked by the Latin poem, "Ysengrimus," which was first named "Reinardus Vulpes" It was written about the year 1148 by a Flemish priest, Nivardus of Ghent Here we have the names that afterwards entered so completely into the speech of Europe that the old French word for a fox, *Goupil*, was replaced by Renard Reinaert, Reynard, or Reginhard, means "absolutely hard," a hardened evil-doer whom there is no turning from his way It is altogether out of this old story that the Fox has come by that name Isegrim, the Wolf's name, is also Flemish—Isengrin meaning "the iron helm" The bear they named Bruno, Bruin, for the colour of his coat

The earliest French version of this national satire is lost There are traces of it to be found in the later "Roman de Renard," which confirm the belief that it was known to and used by the Alsatian Heinrich der Glichezare (the name means "simulator"), who about the year 1180 wrote the first

"Reinart" in German He first called it "Isengrine's Not" —

> Nu vernemet seltsamiu dinc
> und vremdiu maere
> der der Glichesaere
> inkunde git, si sint gewaerlich
> Er ist geheizen Heinrich,
> der hat diu buoch zesamene geleit
> von Isengrînes arbeit

The poem was afterwards entitled "Reinhart Fuhs" There remain two MSS of it, one at Heidelberg, the other in the Bishop's Library at Kalocsa, in Hungary Its vigorous author was one of the poets who lived of old by voice as well as pen, themselves reciting what they wrote

From a French poem on the same subject, written in the beginning of the thirteenth century by a priest, Pierre de St Cloud, came the Flemish poem of "Reinhart,' by Willem, at the beginning of the thirteenth century This was continued by another poet of less mark about the year 1380 A prose commentary on this appeared in 1480, and a Low-German translation of it was printed and published at Lubeck in 1498 In the earliest form of the story, in the tenth century, the Fox triumphed Willem's "Reinaert" ended with the exile of the Fox from court It was the continuer of Willem in 1380 who brought the Fox back, and told of his judicial combat with Isegrim, and showed hypocrisy again triumphant

Willem's Low German poem of "Reinaert" was followed by a prose "Hystorie van Regnaert die Vos," printed at Gouda, in Holland, by Gerard Leeu, in 1479 Caxton's translation was made from the Low German, and retains many Teutonic words in their Dutch form, which was also the form most nearly allied to English. Caxton's long residence at Bruges made the language as familiar to him as his own, and sometimes his English includes a word from

the other side of the boundary between English and Dutch The first edition of Caxton's translation was published in 1481 There was a second edition in 1489, of which the only known copy is in the Pepys Library at Cambridge

The changes made by Caxton in his types, which help to the dating of the books he printed, were studied carefully by William Blades, whose way of numbering them is usually followed Type No 1 is that of the books printed at Bruges Type No 2 is that brought from Bruges and used at Westminster in 1477 and 1478 Type No 2* is the recast of type No 2, with variations, lasting from "The Cordial" in 1479, to "Tully" and "Reynard the Fox" in 1481 Type No 3 was the Missal type used from 1479 to 1484 for headlines and for printing a "Directorium Sacerdotum," a Handbill, a Prayer-book, and a Psalter Type No 4 was first used in a folio of "The Chronicles of England," "enprynted by me, William Caxton, in thabbey of westmynstre by london Finished and accomplished the x day of Juyn the yere of thincarnacion of our lord god M CCCCLXXX, and in the xx yere of the regne of kyng Edward the fourth" This is—on 182 leaves—the old "Chronicle of Brute," beginning with Brute, continued at St Alban's, and, with additions by Caxton himself, brought down to the Battle of Towton

Caxton's earlier types

The same, or nearly the same, text was used in two other printing-offices that were by this time established in England, one in the City of London and the other at St Alban's The first book printed in the City of London was in 1480, in Latin, "Questions in Aristotle's Metaphysics," by the Minorite Antonius Andreas, edited by the Augustine Thomas Penketh * Lettou, its printer, printed also in 1481

The press in the City of London Lettou and Machlin

* For an account of the work of the first London printers, Lettou and Machlinia, see the introduction by Professor Edward Arber, of Mason's

another Latin book of Expositions of the Psalms, by John Percy de Valentia. Lettou seems then to have been joined in partnership by William of Mechlin or Malines Mechlin is between Antwerp and Brussels He called himself, in the books printed by him, Wilhelmus de Mechlinia, Wilhelmus de Machlinia, and also William Maclyn, which must have been the name he went by among his workmen in Holborn, in the neighbourhood of the Fleet Bridge He writes himself in the colophon to a year-book of Henry VI, "Emprente pur moy William Maclyn en Holborn," in an edition of Littleton's "Tenures," "per me Wilhelmum de Machlinia in opulentissima Civitate Londoniarum Iuxta pontem qui vulgariter dicitur Flete brigge" In an edition of Albertus Magnus's "De Secretis Naturæ," it is, with the same reference to Fleet Bridge, "per me Wilhelmum de Mechlinia" The position chosen was near to the settlement of copyists about St. Paul's, whose work is indicated in the names of Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane This printer joined, in 1481, with John Lettou in printing, in seventy leaves of thirty-eight lines to a full page, an edition of Sir Thomas Littleton's "Tenures," written in Norman-French It was without title-page, but ended with "Expliciunt Tenores novelli," etc This was the year in which Sir Thomas Littleton, the author of that famous law-book, died He had been born at Frankley, in Worcestershire, had studied law in the Inner Temple, was made, under Henry VI, steward of the palace court, king's serjeant, and judge on the northern circuit Under Edward IV he was made a judge of the Common Pleas, he was knighted in 1475, and he died on the 23rd of August, 1481 For the second of his three sons Littleton wrote, when he was an old man, his treatise on Tenures and

College, Birmingham, to his edition of "The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham" "English Reprints" 1869

Tithes, which was published as a new book by Lettou and Mechlin

The two printers joined also in publishing an abridgment of the Statutes, and then William of Mechlin seems to have been left in sole possession of the business He printed by himself another edition of Sir Thomas Littleton's "Tenures," also, in Norman-French, a year-book of the 34th of Henry VI, and the "Nova Statuta" The "Liber Aggregationis, seu Libri Secretorum," of Albertus Magnus he printed in Latin, and a "Speculum Christiani," in eight chapters, that mixed Latin quotations from the Bible or the Fathers with English metrical enforcements of their teaching This began with the Articles of Belief, proceeded to the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament, and the Two Commandments of the New, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Works of the Spirit, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Sins, an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and the Admonitions of Saint Isidore

The three other pieces which complete the list of works printed by William of Mechlin are all in English One is a translation from the Latin of Canutus, Bishop of Aarhuus, in Jutland, of "A passing gode lityll boke necessarye and behouefull agenst the Pestilence"

"Revelation to the Monk Evesham"

Another is the book edited by Professor Arber, "The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham," of which there was a short account in Roger of Wendover's "Flores Historiarum," under the year 1196, to which date the revelation was assigned The story is that a young monk of Evesham had for sixteen months a grievous sickness, in which sometimes for nine days together his stomach could retain only a little warm water On the eve of Shere Thursday, when the betrayal and Passion of Christ was solemnly sung with great devotion, he went with his staff into the church with other brethren from the infirmary, and, his devotion being beyond measure,

he remained weeping and praising God from midnight until six in the morning, when he called two of his brethren, by whom he was confessed and absolved, and spent all the rest of the day in praising God Next night, after a little sleep, he rose and went into the church when they sang matins, and when the brethren on Good Friday morning went to prayers at prime, as they passed before the chapter house they saw the sick brother lying flat upon his face before the bishop's seat His eyes were deep in his head, there was blood on his face, his feet were cold, there was a little warmth and movement in his body, but that ceased Then it was found that the figure of Christ crucified, which had been lowered, as usual, by the sextons before Lent, and left till Good Friday between the altar and the wall, was bleeding from the wound in the side and from the right foot, also the shoes and the staff of the sick monk were found beside it Vain attempts were made to recover the monk from his deep swoon But on Easter-Eve he began as miraculously to revive, and told to a friend the vision in which he had been led by Saint Nicholas through the three fields of the pains of Purgatory with which Heaven is encircled, and passed then through the field of Paradise even to the gate of Heaven Then said Saint Nicholas, "Now thou must go again to thyself and to thine, and to the world's fighting" There was a sound of heavenly music in his ears The Saint, his guide, was gone, and then he returned to himself The book has been edited by Professor Edward Arber, from the unique copy in the British Museum The other English work printed by William of Mechlin was the "Chronicle of England," little differing from that printed by William Caxton

The Press at St Alban's

Another Chronicle of the same kind was printed at St Alban's, which had been a great centre of production in the days of copying by hand The art of printing had been brought into St Alban's by a

schoolmaster who learnt it of Caxton, and we have seen that the first printing of the "Treatyse perteynynge to Hawkynge, Huntynge, &c," by Dame Juliana Berners, was by the press at St Alban's in the year 1486

There was a pamphlet published in 1664 by a Richard Atkyns,* who said, that "upon considering the thing, he could not but think that a public person more eminent than a mercer, and a public purse, must needs be concerned in so public a good" He invented, therefore, a story of his own, in which the king—Henry VI—and the Archbishop of Canterbury—Thomas Bourchier—spent handsomely in bribes and plottings, and sent a secret emissary in disguise, Mr Robert Turnour, who was of the robes of the king, and had the help of "Mr Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who traded much into Holland, which was a creditable pretence, as well for his going as stay in the Low Countries Mr Turnour was in disguise (his beard and hair shaven quite off), but Mr Caxton appeared known and public" With much difficulty they succeeded in bringing off "in disguise" from Haarlem an under workman in the printing office, named Frederick Corsells, or Corsellis, into a ship prepared for the purpose "By the Archbishop's means Corsellis was carried with a guard to Oxon, which guard constantly watched to prevent Corsellis from any possible escape, till he had made good his promise in teaching them how to print So that at Oxford printing was first set up in England" The inventor of this tale, in support of Royal Prerogative for the control

The Press at Oxford

* "The Original and Growth of Printing, collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdome · wherein is also demonstrated, that Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England By Richard Atkyns, Esq" "Whitehall, April the 25th, 1664 By Order and Appointment of the Right Honourable Mr Secretary Morice, let this be printed Thos Rycaut Printed by John Streater, for the Author" 1664

of printers, professed that he took it from a document in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, which many then and afterwards asked to see, but nobody, Atkyns included, ever saw The fact on which Atkyns relied for a foundation to his tale was that there really is a book printed at Oxford—"Expositio S Jeronymi in Simbolum Apostolorum—ad Papam Laurentium," which is dated, "Impressa Oxonie, et finita Anno Domini, MCCCCLXVIII, xvii die Decembris" It is agreed that here there must have been the dropping of an X out of the date MCCCCLXXVIII The book would still be the earliest that has come down to us from the first Oxford Press It was followed in the next year, 1479, by the Commentary of Leonard Aretinus on Aristotle's Ethics and Ægidius on Original Sin In 1480 followed from the Oxford Press the "Historia Trojana" of Guido delle Colonne,* printed by T R, whose name appears as Teodoric Rood in the next two books, published in 1481 and 1485

Teodoric Rood adds some Latin verses of himself and his art to the book published in 1485, which was a translation from Greek into Latin, by Franciscus Aretinus, of the Epistles of Phalaris In these verses Rood says that he was a German who came from Cologne, and that he worked with an Englishman named Thomas Hunt †

Caxton at Westminster

Now we return to Caxton, and find his address at Westminster in the Advertisement printed by him about the year 1477 or 1478 in Type No 3, his Missal type This is the whole of it "If it plese ony man spiritual or temporel to bye ony pyes of two and thre comemoracions of salisburi use enpryntid after the forme of this present lettre whiche ben wel

* "E W" vi 118—121

† The other book printed by the early Oxford Press was (in 1481) by Alexander of Hales, "Expositio super Librum de Anima"

and truly correct late hym come to westmonester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale and he shal haue them good chepe" "Pye," or "pie"—in Latin, pica—was the name of the table or "Directorium" used before the Reformation to find out the Church service proper for each day Its name was derived from the *Litera picata*, the great black letter used in the beginning of some new order in the prayer, and such large types retain the name of "pica" Caxton here gives his address at the sign of the Red Pale in the Almonry, at Westminster The Almonry at Westminster was the ground in which there stood an old chapel of St Anne where the alms of the Abbey were distributed It was near to the gate-house, westward of it In the Abbey meant within the Abbey precincts, not within the walls of the sacred building Caxton rented his house in the Almonry, known by its sign as other houses were The red pale was the name for a shield marked with a broad red band down its centre Such a sign has been found used in the fifteenth century to mark a house occupied by two printers at Antwerp The printers at Delft used a black pale

Caxton's chief workmen

In his house in the Almonry Caxton worked his presses, and customers were invited to come to it There he lived also, with his wife and children, and worked with assistants, of whom some afterwards became masters in their art Wynkyn de Worde, who came from Belgium, must have been young when he entered Caxton's service, for he was still living in 1535 He succeeded Caxton when he died, remaining for a time at the Red Pale, and dating from "Caxton's house in Westminster" Richard Pynson, who settled afterwards just outside Temple Bar, was another of Caxton's assistants, and younger than these was William Copland, who, after Caxton's death, worked under Wynkyn de Worde

The books printed by Caxton in his Type No 4, which

began with his first edition of the "Chronicles of England," were only eight, including a second edition of the "Chronicle" That type was not used after the year 1483, but a recast of it, Type No 4 * This was used until 1487, and in it he produced both the first and second edition of his most important piece of work, the "Golden Legend"

Books printed by Caxton from 1480 to 1483

Of the books in Type No 4, a "Description of Britain," in thirty leaves of folio, published in 1480, was meant as a supplement to the "Chronicle," and was translation of a chapter* out of Higden's "Polychronicon" "Curia Sapientiæ," or "the Court of Sapience," on thirty-eight folio leaves, is a poem in Chaucer stanza, which was regarded by John Stow as Lydgate's "The History of Godfrey of Bologne, or the Conquest of Jerusalem," on 144 folio leaves, was a translation made by Caxton from a French original that went beyond the death of Godfrey, at which Caxton ended Caxton says that he finished the translation in 1481, on the 7th of June, and the printing in the same year on the 20th of November In 1481 Caxton printed, upon parchment, Letters of Indulgence from John de Liliis on the authority of Pope Sixtus IV for assistance against the Turks There was a second edition of the "Chronicles of England" in 1482 Caxton finished on the 2nd of July, 1482, his revision of Trevisa's translation † of Higden's "Polychronicon," which he printed immediately afterwards on 450 folio leaves This is the least rare of the Caxton books, for there are not fewer than thirty copies known The other work is a translation of Guillaume de Deguilevile's "Pilgrimage of the Soul," "with somewhat of additions" made in the year 1413, probably by John Lydgate

"The Polychronicon"

The type having been then recast, Caxton printed in Type 4* a Vocabulary in French and English, and three religious books, namely, a "Festival" by John Mirk, a Canon of the

* "E W" iv 244, 245 † "E W" iv 256

Monastery of Lilleshall in Shropshire, which, on 116 folio leaves, gives sermons for the principal feasts of the year, with much use of material from the "Golden Legend" and the "Gesta Romanorum;" then, as companion to it, Four Sermons, one on the Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments; two on the Seven Sacraments, Seven Deeds of Mercy, and Seven Deadly Sins; one on Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction; and, lastly, a Service on the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. Another piece printed in 1483, on twenty-four leaves, quarto, was a collection of six letters in Latin—"Sex perelegantissime Epistole"—between the College of Cardinals and the Doge of Venice on the closing of war between Venice and Ferrara. They were edited by Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia, who became Rector of St. George's, Southwark, in 1490, settled in England, throve, wrote verses, and was called a laureate poet. The only known copy of this piece of Caxton's work was discovered in 1874 in a library at Halberstadt. The most important work printed by Caxton in 1483 was the "Confessio Amantis" of John Gower, in large folio on 222 leaves, of which there are seventeen copies extant.

"Confessio Amantis."

Ten or eleven works were printed by Caxton in 1484. They were—a second edition of the "Canterbury Tales;" Chaucer's "House of Fame" and his "Troilus and Cressida;" a folio broadside of Death-bed Prayers; and, on ninety-six leaves, Lydgate's poem composed for Henry V. on "the Life of Our Lady;" a Caton translated by Caxton himself out of French, and presented to the City of London; the Fables of Æsop, also in Caxton's own translation from the French; and the "Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry,"* "made to the enseygnement and techyng of his doughters translated oute of Frenssh in to our maternall Englysshe tongue by me

Books printed in 1484.

* "E. W." vi. 217, 218.

William Caxton, which book was ended and fynysshed the fyrst day of Juyn the yere of oure lord MCCCC, lxxxiii, and enprynted at wesmynstre the last day of Janyuer the fyrst yere of the regne of Kynge Richard the thyrd " "The Order of Chivalry," on 52 leaves quarto, was also a translation made by Caxton, and presented to King Richard III , its date may not be 1484, but a year later "The Curial," on six leaves, is a translation from Alain Chartier of a letter he "wrote to his brother which desired to come dwelle in Court, in which he reherseth many miseries and wretchydnesses" Caxton says he made it "for a noble and virtuous Erle" Perhaps it was suggested by the fall of his once prosperous friend and patron, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, who was beheaded in June, 1483 But the chief book of 1484 was on 449 leaves of his largest folio, freely illustrated with woodcuts, blending much new work of his own with use of an existing partial translation of the famous body of the "Lives of Saints," compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, and known as the "Golden Legend" Early in the fourteenth century it was translated into French by Jean Belet, whose version was worked over again by Jean de Vignay, with the addition of forty-four legends In the middle of the fifteenth century Jean de Vignay's version was used in making an English book of the "Lives of Saints," and with these before him Caxton worked in his own way at the production of a "Golden Legend" The Earl of Arundel encouraged him in the enterprise by giving him for life a buck in summer and a doe in winter Of this book, as of Caxton's edition of the "Polychronicon," thirty copies are extant There was a second edition of Caxton's "Golden Legend" in 1487

The "Golden Legend"

In 1485, besides a Life of St Winifrede, on sixteen leaves of folio, Caxton's work was upon three romances

One was that of "The Knight Paris and the Fair Viene," on thirty-six leaves folio, finished on the 19th of December, 1485 The romance of Paris and Vienne came originally from the South of Europe, and had been translated into many languages Caxton translated it from French Caxton's other two books of 1485 were his "Life of the noble and Christian Prince Charles the Great," on ninety-six leaves folio, and, on 432 leaves folio, Sir Thomas Malory's "King Arthur" The translation of the "Life of Charlemagne" was made by Caxton from a French romance compiled at the request of Henry Bolomyer, canon of Lausanne Caxton translated at the request of several of his "good singular lords and special masters," among whom he names only Master William Daubeny, keeper of the king's jewels

Books printed in 1485

"Paris and Viene"

The "Life of Charlemagne"

A few notes on the "King Arthur" folio will complete the description of works issued by Caxton in 1485 This was a folio of 432 leaves The printer himself says in his preface to it that "after he had accomplished and finished divers histories as well of contemplation as of other historical and worldly acts of great conquerors and princes, and also certain books of ensamples and doctrine, many noble and divers gentlemen of this royaume of England came and demanded him many and ofttimes wherefore he had not do made and enprint the noble history of the Saint Graal, and of the most renomed Christian King Arthur, which ought most to be remembered among us Englishmen before all Christian kings For it is known through the universal world that there ben Nine Worthy and the best that ever were, that is, to wit, three Paynims, three Jews, and three Christian men" The Paynims were Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar, the Jews were Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabæus, the Christians, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of

Sir Thomas Malory's "King Arthur"

Bologne, of whose acts Caxton had made a book for Edward IV He was, as we see, preparing now a book of Charlemagne, and he tells us that "the sayd noble Ientylmen Instantly reqryred me temprynte thystorie of the sayd noble kyng and conquerour kyng Arthur/ and of his knyghtes with thystorye of the saynt greal/ and of the deth and endyng of the sayd Arthur/ Affermyng that I ouȝt rather temprynte his actes and noble feates/ thon of godefroye of bologne/ or ony of the other eyght/ consyderyng that he was a man borne wythin this royame and kyng and Emperour of the same/ And that there ben in frensshe dyuers and many noble volumes of his actes/ and also of his knyghtes/" Caxton said he replied that many historians did not believe there was such a king, whereupon Caxton's friends, and one especially, replied that such doubt was blindness, and gave as reasons for believing in Arthur—that his tomb was to be seen at Glastonbury, that particulars of it were to be found in "Polychronicon," Book V, Chapter 6, and Book VII, Chapter 23, that Geoffrey of Monmouth told his life, that remembrances of him and of his knights are in many places in England, as the print of his seal in red wax closed in beryl at St Edward's shrine in Westminster Abbey, with the inscription "Patricius Arthurus/ Britannic/ Gallic/ Germanie/ Dacie, Imperator" Item, in the castle of Dover ye may see Gawain's skull and Cradock's mantle, at Winchester the Round Table, in other places Lancelot's sword, and many other things Also in all places Arthur is reputed one of the Nine Worthies, and he is more spoken of beyond the sea than in England, there are books about him in German, Italian, Spanish, and Greek, as well as French The great stones and marvellous works of iron lying under the ground, and royal vaults, which divers now living have seen in Wales, in the town of Camelot, remain of record in witness of him Caxton could not deny this, and had

read beyond the sea French books of Arthur which were not to be had in English, and so he says that he has "enprysed to enprynte a book of the noble hystoryes of the sayd king Arthur/ and of certeyn of his knyghtes after a copye vnto me delyuerd/ whyche copye Syr Thomas Malorye dyd take oute of certeyn bookes of frensshe and reduced it in to Englysshe/ And I accordyng to my copye haue doon settle it in enprynte/ to the entent that noble men may see and lerne the noble actes of chyualrye/ the Ientyl and vertuous dedes that somme knyghtes vsed in tho dayes/ by whyche they came to honour" Caxton tells his readers that they are at liberty to believe as little as they please in the reality of Arthur, but that they should follow the good examples given in the story "by whyche we may come and atteyne to good fame and renomme in thys lyf/ and after thys shorte and transytorye lyf to come vnto euerlastyng blysse in heuen/ the whyche he graunte us that reygneth in heuen the blessyd Trynyte Amen/ Then follows the "History of Arthur," in twenty-one books, and, in all, five hundred and seven chapters, the printing of which was "fynysshed in thabbey westmestre the last day of July the yere of our lord M/CCCC/ lxxxv/ Caxton me fieri fecit"

Little is known of Sir Thomas Malory, from whom Caxton obtained his prose version of the "History of Arthur," which gave the main incidents in the cycle of Arthurian romance arranged in their due order Caxton describes him as a knight who had completed his work in the ninth year of the reign of Edward IV—that is to say, in the year 1470, fifteen years before it was printed—and that he was the servant of Jesu both day and night He has certainly retained the spirit in which Walter Map arranged the sequence of the tales, with the romance of the Graal set in their midst to blend with the tales of earthly love and war a heavenly inspiration The very soul of mediæval

Christianity breathes out of the story of the Quest of the Graal as told with simple directness by Sir Thomas Malory The great popularity of the romance of Tristram and King Mark's wife, the fair Isolde, made it impossible that Malory should have thought of omitting that But in some sense Tristram is to Isolde as Lancelot to Guinevere The romance of Tristan was an early offshoot from the sequence planned by Walter Map, and a reader of Sir Thomas Malory's "History of Arthur" might get a better impression of the sequence of adventures, as Map had arranged them, by omitting from the first reading those chapters which interweave the tale of Tristram and Isolde They were inseparable from the Arthur Legend of Sir Thomas Malory's time, but they break the harmony of the first arrangement by burdening one part of it with variations on its motive There was a second edition of Malory's "History of Arthur" printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1498

Caxton's latest types

Caxton's next fount of type, No 5, was used during the rest of his life, from 1487 to 1491, but another fount, No 6, which was No 2 altered, came to be also used in and after 1489, and was not used after Caxton's death by Wynkyn de Worde The books printed by Caxton in 1487 with this type were three One was "A Book of Good Manners," in sixty-six leaves, folio, translated by Caxton from the French of an Austin Friar, Jacques Legrand, who was confessor to Charles VII Caxton printed this book in obedience to a death-bed request of his old friend and fellow mercer, William Praat, who had been helped by his own reading of the book, and wished for its diffusion in printed copies Caxton accordingly printed it "for the amendment of manners and the increase of virtuous living" The other two books printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1487 were a "Speculum Vitæ Christi," based on a "Life of

His "Book of Good Manners"

Other books

Christ" written in 1410 by St Bonaventure, and a "Directorium Sacerdotum" In this year there was printed in No 4 type, as before said, a second edition of the "Golden Legend," and Caxton had a "Sarum Missal" printed for him in Paris

In 1488 Caxton printed probably a third edition of his "Book of Hours," and on 162 folio leaves, a translation from the French, as the "Royal Book," or "Book for a King," of Brother Laurent's "Somme des Vices et des Vertus," which Dan Michel had translated in 1340 as the "Ayenbite of Inwit" Caxton says that he finished his translation of it on the 13th of September, 1484 As in all books issued by Caxton without note of the date of printing, conjecture is only bounded by the limit of years within which its type was used The type used in the "Royal Book" has not been found in an extant book of Caxton's printing before 1487 In type No 5 Caxton has inscribed, under a woodcut on a quarto broadside, showing Christ on the cross, surrounded by eighteen small pictures relating to that Image of Pity, the following note —"To them that before this ymage of pyte deuoutly saye v Pr nr v Aues & a Credo pyteuously beholdyng these ar of Xps passio ar granted xxxii M, vij C & lv yeres of pardon".

Of the "Doctrinal of Sapience," on ninety-two folio leaves, Caxton finished the translation on the 7th of May, 1489 It was a Latin "Manipulus Curatorum," translated into French by the desire of Guy, Archbishop of Sens, towards the close of the fourteenth century, and well known in France as the "Livre de Sapience," or "Doctrinal de la foy catholique," or "Doctrinal au simples gens" There was in this type also, perhaps of the year 1490, a second edition of the "Speculum," or "Mirror of the Life of Christ," a third and fourth edition of the "Horæ," a Commemoration of the Lament or Compassion of the Virgin at the death of her son, and a service book of the Transfiguration

Caxton's last type, No 6, was first used in the "Fayts of Arms and of Chivalry," printed on the 14th of July, the fourth year of the reign of King Henry VII —that is, 1489 This Caxton translated from the French of Christine of Pisan Caxton printed also in this type, on forty-two folio leaves, "Statutes of Henry VII " in English , a "Governal of Health,' a second edition of "Reynard the Fox," and of the "Directorium Sacerdotum ," second editions also of "The Mirrour of the World," "The Book of Courtesy," "The Festial," and the "Four Sermons ," there was also a third edition of the "Dictes and Sayings "

Caxton printed in these last years of his life "The Fifteen Oes and other Prayers," the "Oes" being prayers that began with exclamation, as "O Jesu, endless sweetness of loving souls, O Jesu, ghostly joy passing and exceeding all gladness and desires, O Jesu, health and tender lover of all repentant sinners" The prayers were translated from the Latin in the "Book of Hours" He printed also "A Book of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom," or "Orologium Sapientiæ," together with, in the same copy, the "Twelve Profits of Tribulation and the Rule of St Benet" He published also two books, one from the French, one from the Latin "Ars Moriendi," of "The Art and Craft to Die Well," as his own death drew near

It remains only to add that, besides religious books, Caxton printed, in his type No 6, three Romances, the "Four Sons of Aymon," "Blanchardyn," and "Eneydos" The "Four Sons of Aymon" he translated from a French prose text The romance of the love of Blanchardyn, son to the king of Frise, for the noble princess Englantine, he translated from the French prose version of a thirteenth century French metrical romance He dedicated it to the Lady Margaret, who had asked him to translate and print it "Unto

The "Four Sons of Aymon"

"Blanchardyn"

the right noble puyssaunt & excellent pryncesse, my redoubted lady, my lady Margarete, duchess of Somercete/ Moder vnto our natural & souerayn lord and most Crysten Kynge Henry þe seventh, by the grace of god, kyng of englonde & of ffraunce, lord of yrelonde & *cetera*, I wyllyam caxton, his most Indygne humble subgette and lytil seruaunt presente this lytyl book vnto the noble grace of my sayd lady, whiche boke I late receyued in frenshe from her good grace, and her commaundement wyth alle/ for to reduce and translate it in to our maternal and englysh tonge/ whiche boke I had longe to fore solde to my sayd lady, and knewe wel that the storye of hit was honeste and Ioyefull to all vertuouse yong noble gentylmen and wymmen for to rede therin as for their passe tyme"

"Eneydos"

His "Eneydos," in sixty-five chapters, was translated by Caxton from a French prose "Livre des Eneydes," printed at Lyons in 1483, which followed Virgil with such variations as would fit it to the mediæval spirit of romance In his Prologue to the "Eneydos," which ends with a dedication to Henry the Seventh's son Prince Arthur, Caxton speaks of the changes in the language, and desire of some for English of the old form, and of others to have the old form changed into the new "And certainly," he says, "our language now used varyeth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born For we Englishmen ben born under the domination of the moon, which is never stedfast but ever wavering, waxing one season and waneth and decreaseth another season, and that common English that is spoken in one shire varieth from another Insomuch that in my days happened that certain merchants were in a ship in Thames for to have sailed over the sea into Zealand, and for lack of wind they tarried atte Foreland and went to land for to refresh them And one of them named Sheffield, a mercer,

Caxton's English

came into an house and axed for meat, and specially he axed after eggs And the good wife answered that she could speak no French And the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have had eggs and she understood him not And then at last another said that he would have eyren, then the good wife said that she understood him well So what should a man in these days now write, eggs or eyren? Certainly it is hard to please every man, because of diversity and change of language" Caxton himself preferred, he said, as far as possible "the common terms that be daily used" This book was not "for a rude uplandish man to labour therein ne read it, but only for a clerk and a noble gentleman that feeleth and understandeth in feats of arms, in love, and in noble chivalry," therefore he has sought to find a mean between the over-rude and over-curious, wherein, if he has failed, he says, "I pray Master John Skelton, late created poet laureate in the University of Oxford, to oversee and correct the said book, and to address and expoun whereas shall be found fault to them that shall require it For him I know for sufficient," and Caxton gives reasons, which are omitted here because they cross the borders of this volume and will have their due place in the next

The spirit of Caxton

This volume has now told its tale, and there could be no clearer summing up of the position of English Literature at the time of the Invention of Printing than the list now given of the books that Caxton thought worth printing He was an energetic man of business, with a love of literature His love of literature would have earned for him enduring praise as writer and translator, if his rare industry and quick intelligence had not given him place in our annals as the founder of the English press Caxton's friends were among the merchants and the courtiers, high churchmen, and princes of the royal blood He took no part in plots and stratagems outside his

chosen way of life He was simply religious, following the faith of his fathers, printing books of "Hours," a "Life of Christ," "Lives of the Saints," and even a wall image of the Passion of the Saviour, with pardons for the Paternosters said while contemplating it with true devotion There would have been an end of his work as a printer if he had printed Wyclif's Bible, but he was far from any wish to do so, or in any way to help the Lollards He was equally far from desire to do them hurt Directly moral and religious works had a large place in the library of printed books selected and, by closest assiduity, translated by himself In romance he gave the gests of the three Christian worthies, Charlemagne, Godfrey, Arthur, with the "Tale of Troy," and other pieces for pastime, which he chose with a strict regard to their good influence upon the minds of those who read them This regard he set forth clearly in his introduction to "Blanchardyn" The romance of "Paris and Viene," which he thought worth translating and printing, had passed from Catalane into Provençal, thence into French, Italian, Flemish, and was especially regarded as a pattern of right life Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux, had for that reason translated it into Latin as aid to the education of the children of the Chancellor Duprat

Close of Caxton's life

In his house at the Red Pale in the Almonry of Westminster, and in St Margaret's parish, Caxton was for several years, from 1478 to 1484, auditor of the parish accounts In 1490, when Caxton was within a year of his own death, Maude Caxton, probably his wife, was buried at St Margaret's He printed in that year his two books of the "Art and Craft to Die Well" In the same year Caxton began his last work of translation, "Lives of the Fathers," which was printed after his death by Wynkyn de Worde, with this colophon "Thus endeth the most virtuous History of the

devout and right renowned Lives of Holy Fathers living in desert, worthy of remembrance to all well-disposed persons, which hath been translated out of French into English by William Caxton of Westminster, late dead, and finished at the last day of his life" Thus the good founder of the English printing press, who was himself a memorable type of that union of the spiritual with the practical which makes the strength of English character, died at his work Of the day of his death there is no record, but it seems to have been a day towards the close of the year 1491 He was buried in the churchyard of St Margaret's, and bequeathed to St Margaret's fifteen copies of his most costly work, the "Golden Legend," which were turned into money by the Church as promptly as possible, at the rate of about five and eightpence (which would be three or four pounds in modern value) for each copy But by an arrangement made in the Ecclesiastical Courts at Westminster, four or five years after Caxton's death, for separation of Caxton's daughter Elizabeth from her husband Gerard Cooppe, master tailor, Gerard Cooppe is allowed "twenty printed legends at thirteen and fourpence a legend" Thirteen shillings and fourpence made one mark, equivalent in buying power to six or seven pounds in money of the present day, and we may take that to have been the market price of Caxton's masterpiece in Caxton's time

New Lamps for old

The printing press produced no changes in human nature, or the common interests of man At first the uses made of it might only have suggested to a few young dreamers how its power could grow by free use Truth's in the field, "Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" From Caxton's time there springs new hope for the advance of the whole body of the people, by quickened interchange of thought among their leaders, and by larger exercise of thought among themselves

Mind and body remain as of old, and health of either was a thousand years ago the same health that it is to-day But to both disease cleaves for the want of light

Love, Hope, Fear, Shame, are as they were of old,
No keener thought informs the living clay,
No man is bolder than men have been bold
In deeds whose memory has passed away,
Light of the mind, or sun, in Plato's day
Breathed the high glory that is in it now,
Still the same Earth, Past, Present, Future plough

When Love lies whispering from lip to ear,
And large-eyed Hope stirs as a startled fawn,
Love's very happiness begets a fear,
And innocence, clear as the rosy dawn
When up the blue its dewy blush is drawn
To glorify for man the birth of light,
Blessed with a faultless shame beams heavenly bright

When Thought went wisely to the daily toil
For freedom from the hindrance of the hour,
For leave to live and work above the coil
Of Fashion aimless in its use of power,
It won of old such freedom, built its tower
It wins as much, no more, for those who now
Have heads that Godward and not manward bow

The loving voice that to one heart lives nigh
Lifts one heart to the highest heaven of thought,
The mind that to a thousand standers by
Speaks thoughtful love, by other thousands sought,
Bids the hand speak, till wood, skin, paper, wrought
Into the word, may take men by the hand
And send a touch of reason through the land,

Now hands are busier, speech grows more free
    To nerve the living, aye, to raise the dead ;
Beyond old landmarks and the rifts of sea
    The solitary worker's touch can spread ;
    Beyond the bounds fixed by the men who dread
    Lest in a free encounter Truth be found,
    Slain by a lie, left dead upon the ground.

Now Love, with hands by cunning multiplied,
    And Hope, with larger voice to silence fear,
Touch the blind eyes, let Love be deified,
    Speak on, shame wrong, till all have ears to hear!
    Now let all thoughts in their own arms appear!
    Widen the lists: come who will to the field,
    No matter what the blazon on his shield.

Truth is the prize, and what is Truth but Love,
    The glory of the wisdom of the Lord?
Widen the lists: and let the conflict prove
    What arms are weak, what shield cannot afford
    Safe shelter, whose the strength and whose the word
    That triumphs! Hope's to win, and Earth's increase
    In joys that crown an everlasting peace.

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"A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City, chiefly with reference to the Vehicle, Characters, and Dresses of the Actors Compiled, in a great degree, from sources hitherto unexplored To which are added, the Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors' Company, and other Municipal Entertainments of a public nature By Thomas Sharp" The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors, here first printed, was upon the Birth of Christ and Offering of the Magi, with the Flight into Egypt and Murder of the Innocents

WILLIAM OCCAM

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JOHN GOWER

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Vox Clamantis.

THREE MSS —Brit Mus, Cotton MSS Tiberius A iv

Oxford Bodleian, Digby MSS, and Library of All Souls College To the last of the minor poems added in the All Souls MS is the title in a second handwriting "Carmen quod Johannes Gower, *adhuc vivens*, super Principum Regimine Ultimo composuit"

PRINTED EDITION—

Poema quod dicitur Vox Clamantis, necnon Chronica Tripartita, Auctore Johanne Gower, nunc primum edidit H O Coxe, M A Impensis Societatis Roxburgensis 1850

Confessio Amantis

TWENTY OR MORE MSS —Ten at Oxford, of which these five have the form of address to Richard II MS Laud, 609, MSS Bodley, 294 and 693, MS Selden, B 11, Library of Corpus Christi Coll, MS 67 These four have the substituted address to Henry of Lancaster MS Fairfax, 3, MS Hatton, 51, Wadham College, MS 13, New College, MSS. 266 and 326

Four MSS are at Cambridge.

Three are among the Harleian MSS at the British Museum, Nos 3,490, 3,869, 7,184

One, the Stafford MS in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere,

was written between 1399 and 1413, and probably belonged to King Henry IV

PRINTED EDITIONS—

This book is entituled Confessio Amantis, that is to saye in Englyshe the confessyon of the louer maad and compyled by Johan Gower squyer borne in Walys in the tyme of kyng richard the second, &c Emprynted at Westmestre by me Willyam Caxton, and fynished the 2 day of Septembre the fyrst yere of the regne of kyng Richard the thyrd the yere of our lord a thousand CCCC, LXXXXIII (mistake for LXXXIII)

John Gower De Confessione Amantis Imprinted at London, in Flete-strete by Thomas Berthelette, printer to the kinges grace, An M D XXXII, cum privilegio

Another edition by Thomas Berthelette, M D LIV

The Confessio Amantis was printed in 1810 in the second of the twenty-one volumes of Chalmers's English Poets

Confessio Amantis of John Gower, edited and collated with the best Manuscripts by Dr Reinhold Pauli 3 vols London, 1857

Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins, being the Confessio Amantis of John Gower, edited by Henry Morley, LL D Carisbrooke Library, 1889

GEOFFREY CHAUCER.

The Canterbury Tales

MANY MSS —Brit Mus , Harleian MSS 1,239, 1,758, 7,333, 7,334 (the best), 7,335 MSS Reg 17 D xv , 18 C ii , Sloane MSS A 1,685, xxii D , A 1,686 , xxii D , Lansdowne MS 851

Oxford Bodleian, Nos 1,234, 1,476, 2,527, 3,360, 4,138, 6,420, Barlow 20, Arch Seld B 14 MS in the Library of New College

Cambridge University Library Dd 4, 24 , Gg 4, 27 , Ii 3, 26 , Mm 2, 5 Two MSS in the Library of Trinity College, R 33 and R 3, 15

In Private Libraries Lord Ellesmere's , Lord Leconfield's at Petworth , Lord Ashburnham's , Mr Wynne's of Peniarth, in the Hengwrt Collection Four lent to Tyrwhitt by their owners (two by Dr Askew, one by Edward Harstwell, one by P C Webb) , two used by W Thomas in collation for an interleaved copy of Urry's edition, now in the British Museum

They belonged to Charles Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, and Mr Norton, of Southwick, in Hampshire

PRINTED EDITIONS—

Caxton's first edition, without title or date, printed in 1478 Nine copies are known—two in the British Museum, one at the Bodleian, one at Merton College, Oxford, the others in private libraries Only two of them—that at Merton College and one in the King's Library of the Brit Mus —are perfect

Caxton's second edition, printed from a better MS Not dated, Mr Blades suggested 1484

A reprint of this by Wynken de Worde, 1495

Another edition, with Lydgate's Treatyse of Goddis and Goddesses added Printed by Wynken de Worde in 1498

A reprint from Caxton's second edition, printed by Richard Pynson, without date, but soon after Caxton's death

Another edition, printed by Richard Pynson and dated 1526 This was the first edition in which other pieces were added to the Canterbury Tales, and the next following editions of the Tales, with further enlargement, are called

Chaucer's Works.

The Workes of Geoffrey Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers Workes which were neuer in print before London Thomas Godfray 1532, folio

[Dedicated to King Henry VIII by William Thynne, chefe Clerk of his Kechyn, its compiler Leland, writing within the next eight years, ascribed this edition to Berthelette, who may have been concerned in its production by Thomas Godfray, and he ascribed the compilation to William Thynne, but the Preface to "Brianus Tucca, mihi familiaritate conjunctissimus," that is, to Sir Brian Tuke This was the first attempt at a complete Chaucer]

The workes of Geoffrey Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes, whych were neuer in print before London John Raynes Folio, 1542

[This follows the preceding edition, but adds for the first time "The Plowman's Tale"]

The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, newlie printed with diuers Additions, which were neuer in print before, with the Siege and Destruction of the worthy Citie of Thebes, compiled by

Jhon Lidgate, Monk of Berie London Jhon Kyngston for Jhon Wight 1561, folio

[This was edited by John Stow, who gave his further collections to his friend Thomas Speght, editor of the next edition]

The Workes of our antient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed London Impensis Geor Bishop Anno 1598, folio

[This is the edition by Thomas Speght It was dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, and had a prefixed letter of Francis Beau mont, dated 1597 According to the title "In this Impression you shall find these additions 1 His portraiture and progenie shewed 2 His life collected 3 Arguments to euery booke 4 Old and obscure words explained 5 Authors by him cited declared 6 Difficulties opened 7 Two Books of his (viz, his Dream and The Flower and the Leaf) neuer before printed" John Stow says of his relation to the edition in his "Survey of London" that Chaucer's works "were partly published in print by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI, increased by William Thynne, esquire, in the reign of Henry VIII, corrected and twice increased through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561, and again, beautified with notes by me collected out of divers records and monu ments, which I delivered to my loving friend, Thomas Speght, and he having drawn the same into a good form and method, has also explained the old and obscure words, and hath published them in anno 1597"]

The Workes of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed London Adam Islip 1602, folio

[This edition is based upon Speght's, but says of itself, "To that which was done in the former impression, thus much is now added 1 In the life of Chaucer many things inserted 2 The whole worke by old copies reformed 3 Sentences and prouerbes noted 4 The signification of the old and obscure words prooued, also Characters shewing from what Tongue or Dialect they are derived 5 The Latine and French not Englished by Chaucer, translated 6 The Treatise called Iacke Vpland against Friers, and Chaucer's A, B, C, called La Prière de Nostre Dame, at this impression added"]

The Workes Also the Siege of Thebes, by J Lidgate London 1687, folio

[After an interval of 85 years, during which there was no demand for Chaucer, a reprint of the edition of 1602,]

The Workes compared with the former editions, and many valuable MSS, out of which three tales are added which were never before printed By John Urry, together with a glossary With the Author's Life, newly written, and a Preface, giving an account of this edition London 1721, folio

[John Urry dying with the work in hand, this edition of Chaucer was finished by Urry's friend, Timothy Thomas of Christchurch, Oxford. Mistaken pains were taken with the text, which nobody was qualified to edit without spoiling, in the reign of George I A Life of Chaucer was contributed to this edition by John Dart, who had a curacy at Yately, in Hampshire, produced writings of no great value, and is best known for his folios on the History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster]

After two editions of the Canterbury Tales, one in 1737, by Dr Thomas Morell, "in the original and as they are turned into modern language by the most eminent hands," and the other by George Ogle, in 1741, "Canterbury Tales modernis'd by several hands," came the scholarly edition by Thomas Tyrwhitt, of the

Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer, to which is added an Essay on his Language and Versification, an Introductory Discourse, Notes and a Glossary London 5 vols, 8vo 1775—1778

[The second edition was printed in 1798 by the University of Oxford after Tyrwhitt's death, as a mark of respect to his memory There was a third edition in 1822, which was reprinted in 1830, and it was made the chief part of an edition of Chaucer's works published in one volume in 1845

Subsequent editions have been—beside those in the collections of Bell, Anderson, and Chalmers—Poems and Life, in 5 vols Chiswick Press, by S W Singer, 1822 Poetical Works with Memoir, by Sir Harris Nicolas, in 6 vols Aldine Press, 1845 Canterbury Tales edited by Thomas Wright from the Harleian MS 7334, and published in 1847 in two volumes by the Percy Society Works freshly edited from MSS. by Dr Richard Morris 6 vols 1866

Poems and Life, forming 8 volumes in Robert Bell's "Annotated

Edition of the English Poets," which John W Parker and Son began to publish in half-crown volumes, in January, 1854 The Chaucer volumes in this series were re issued, bound in four, with a new introductory essay by the Rev Professor W W Skeat, in 1878

Poetical Works, to which are appended the Poems attributed to Chaucer, edited by Arthur Gilman, in 3 vols Riverside Edition Boston, U S 1880

Excellent students' editions of Canterbury Tales, with Introductions and full notes, have been published by the Clarendon Press They are--

(1) The Prologue, the Knightes Tale, the Nonne Prestes Tale, edited by Dr Richard Morris (an edition which lately reached its sixty-sixth thousand)

(2) The Prioresses Tale, Sir Thopas, the Monkes Tale, the Clerkes Tale, the Squieres Tale edited by Professor Skeat (with important addition to the Introduction in the third edition)

(3) The Tale of the Man of Lawe, the Pardoneres Tale, the Second Nonnes Tale, the Chanouns Yemannes Tale also edited by Professor Skeat

The most valuable edition of the Canterbury Tales is that produced by the

Chaucer Society

A Six Text Print of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, in Parallel Columns from the following MSS 1 The Ellesmere 2 The Hengwrt, 154 3 The Cambridge Univ Libr Gg 4, 27 4 The Corpus Christi Coll, Oxford 5 The Petworth 6 The Lansdowne, 851 Edited by Frederick J Furnivall, M A, Trinity Hall, Cambridge Oblong 4to, 1864—1867, with a Ryme Index to the Ellesmere MS, by H Cromie M A

[Dr Furnivall, by whom the CHAUCER SOCIETY was founded, has read with the MSS all the six texts here published side by side, three chosen out of public and three out of private collections As they lie printed in parallel columns with all the six versions of each line side by side, they make the way ready for the student to a more thorough knowledge of the text of Chaucer than before was possible Each text is also printed separately to form an octavo volume] The Chaucer Society has produced in the same way

Troilus and Cressida

A Parallel Text Print of Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, from the Campsall MS of Mr Bacon Frank, copied for Henry V when Prince of Wales, the Harleian MS 2,280, in the British Museum, and the Cambridge University Library MS, Gg 4, 27 Put forth by Frederick J Furnivall, M A, Trin Hall, Camb, Founder of the Early English Text, Chaucer, Ballad, New Shakspere, Browning, and Wyclif Societies 1881—1883

[The Society has also published Parallel Texts of the Minor Poems and Autotype Specimens of the chief Chaucer MSS, with many reprints, illustrative of his work, essays, and results of search into the records that may yield new facts about Chaucer]

The first printed edition of Troilus and Cressida was Caxton's Troylus and Creside Explicit per Caxton Folio (1484?)

The noble and amorous ancyent Hystory of Troylus and Cresyde, in the Tyme of the Syege of Troye Compyled by Geoffraye Chaucer Imprynted by me, Wynkyn de Worde 4to 1517

The Boke of Troylus and Creseyde, newly printed by a trewe Copye London Richard Pynson Folio, no date

The House of Fame

The Book of Fame made by Gefirey Chaucer Emprynted by Wylliam Caxton Folio (1484?)

The Boke of Fame made by Geffray Chaucer, with diuers other of his Workes London By me Richarde Pynson Folio, 1526

[The House of Fame was printed also at Edinburgh in 1508, when printing was first established there It was printed in Scottish form, and called "The Maying or Disport of Chaucer"]

Boethius

Boethius de Consolacione Philosophiæ, translated into English by Geoffrey Chaucer "I William Caxton have done my devoir to enprinte it" No date, before 1479

The Parlement of Foules

The Assemble of Foules, compyled by the preclared and famous Clerke Geoffray Chaucer, Lond, by me Wynkyn de Worde Folio, 1530.

Queen Anelida

Queen Anelida and False Arcyte The complaint of Chaucer to his Purse 4to, printed by Caxton before 1479 [the only known copy is in the Cambridge University Library]

The Legend of Good Women

Chaucer's Legende of Goode Women Edited, with an Introduction and Notes Glossarial and Critical, by Hiram Corson Philadelphia, 1864

Clarendon Press Series Chaucer The Legend of Good Women Edited by the Rev Walter W Skeat, Litt D , Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge Oxford, 1889 Comparison of the best MSS , with the great aid given in this respect by Dr F J Furnivall's Parallel Texts edition, has enabled Professor Skeat to give in this volume what may be called a text of the Legend of Good Women restored for the first time since the use of Printing The number of rectifications is so great, and the corrections are so clearly right, that by this edition of the Legend of Good Women all the preceding texts (except, of course, those of the Chaucer Society's parallel text edition) are superseded The chief MSS used are that of the Cambridge University Library Gg 4, 27 , the Pepys MS 2,006 in Magdalene College, Cambridge, the MS R 3, 19, in Trinity College, Cambridge , the MS in theBodleian Arch Selden B 24 , and the Additional MSS 9, 832, and 12,524 in the British Museum Professor Skeat observes that the MS Gg 4, 27, in the Cambridge University Library contains an earlier draft of the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women, which is not found anywhere else, and which does not contain the reference to the Queen Prof Skeat prints in his edition both forms of the Introduction His belief is, that Chaucer owed to the Queen's intercession his liberty to transfer personal work of official writing as Controller of Wool Customs to a deputy, an indulgence obtained on the 17th of February, 1385 , that, with the new sense of leisure, he planned on a large scale his poem of the Legend of Good Women , that he gratefully inscribed it to the Queen , that he did this at once, in the spring of 1385 , and that the revised form of the Prologue was produced in the same spring, soon after the first draught had been finished "I therefore," Prof Skeat says, "propose to assign the conjectural date of the spring of

1385 to both forms of the Prologue, and I suppose that Chaucer went on with one tale of the series after another during the summer and latter part of the same year, till he grew tired of the task, and at last gave it up in the middle of a sentence"

Minor Poems

THIRTY SEVEN MSS. have contributed to the determination of the text of Chaucer's Minor Poems A full account of them will be found in Prof Skeat's standard edition of them in the Clarendon Press Series

Chaucer The Minor Poems, edited by the Rev Walter W Skeat, Litt D, LL D Edin, M A Oxon Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge Oxford Clarendon Press, 1888

WILLIAM LANGLAND

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman

FORTY-FIVE MSS representing the Poem in three stages—

A Oxford Vernon MS in the Bodleian, from which the whole class is sometimes described as of the Vernon type, also in the Bodleian, MSS Douce, 323, Ashmole, 1,468, Rawlinson, poet, 137, also a MS in University College, Oxford In London, Brit Mus, Harleian MSS, No 875 and No 3,954, also a MS in the Library of Lincoln's Inn In Dublin, at Trinity College, MS D 4, 12

B Oxford In the Bodleian, Laud Misc, 581, Rawlinson poet, 38 (four leaves of this are in the Brit Mus bound with MS Lansdowne, 398), Bodley, 814, one in Oriel College, one in Corpus Christi College, Oxford Cambridge University Library MSS, Dd 1, 17, Gg 4, 31, Ll 4, 14, Trin Coll Cam MS, B 15, 17 [the text printed by Thomas Wright], and another at Caius College London Brit Mus Cotton MS Caligula, A xi, Additional MS, 10,574, Ashburnham MSS, No 129 and No 130, at Cheltenham, Phillipps MS, No 8,252, and Mr H Yates Thompson's MS The MS from which Crowley's edition was printed was of this type, but it is not now to be found From this first printed edition the whole class of MSS in this stage is sometimes described as of the Crowley type

C Oxford Bodleian, MS Laud, 656, Bodley MS, 851,

Digby MSS, 102 and 171, Douce MS, 104 Cambridge University Library MSS, Dd 3, 13, Ff 5, 35, Corpus Christi Coll MS, No 293 London Brit Mus Cotton MS Vespasian B xvi, Harleian MS, No 2,376 Royal MS 18 B xvii Dublin Trin Coll MS D 4, 1 Cheltenham Phillipps MSS, No 8,231 and No 9,056, also three MSS severally in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester and Sir Henry Ingilby, of Ripley Castle, Yorkshire

Mixed A and C texts Digby MS 145, in the Bodleian, MS R 3, 14, in Trinity College, Cambridge, Harleian MS N 6,041 in the British Museum, and a MS in the possession of the Duke of Westminster

Mixed B and C texts Bodley MS 814, in the Bodleian, Additional MS 10,574, and Cotton MS Caligula A xi, in the British Museum

[The characters of all these MSS will be found described by Professor Skeat in his edition of Piers Plowman]

PRINTED EDITIONS—

The Vision of Pierce Plowman, now fyrste imprynted by Roberte Crowley, dwellyng in Ely rentes in Holburne Anno Domini 1505 [a transposition of figures for 1550]

The Vision of Pierce Plowman, nowe the seconde time imprinted by Roberte Crowley dwellynge in Elye rentes in Holburne The yere of our Lord MDL

A third edition with corresponding title, except that the name of the publisher is spelt Crowlye

The Vision of Pierce Plowman, newlye imprynted after the authour's olde copy, with a brefe summary of the principall matters set before euery part called Passus Whereunto is also annexed the Crede of Pierce Plowman, neuer imprinted with the booke before Imprynted at Lordon, by Owen Rogers, dwellynge neare vnto great Saint Bartelmewes Gate, at the sygne of the spred Egle The yere of our Lorde God, a thousand, five hundred, thre score and one The xxi day of the Moneth of Februarye

Visio Willi de Petro Plouhman, Item Visiones ejusdem de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest Or The Vision of William concerning Piers Plouhman, and The Visions of the same concerning the Origin, Progress, and Perfection of the Christian Life Ascribed to Robert Langland, a secular Priest of the County of Salop, and written in, or immediately after, the year MCCCLXII Printed from a MS contemporary with the

author, collated with two others of great antiquity, and exhibiting the original text, together with an Introductory Discourse, a perpetual commentary, annotations, and a glossary By Thomas Durham Whitaker, LL D, F S A, Vicar of Whalley, and Rector of Heysham, in Lancashire 4to London Printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street MDCCCXIII

[This being the only edition of the C Text, MSS that give the poem in this its latest form are sometimes described as of the Whitaker type]

The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman, newly imprinted Edited by Thomas Wright, M A In Two Volumes 12mo London W Pickering 1842

A second and revised edition in Two Volumes, 12mo London J R Smith (in Library of Old Authors) 1856

The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wit et Resoun By William Langland (about 1362—1380 A D) Edited from Numerous Manuscripts, with Prefaces, Notes, and a Glossary By the Rev Walter W Skeat, M A, etc In Four Parts

Part I —The "Vernon" Text, or Text A Edited from the Vernon MS Collated with MS R, 3, 14 in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS Harl 875 and 6,041, the MS in University College, Oxford, and MS Douce, 323 Early English Text Society, 1867

Part II —The "Crowley" Text, or Text B Edited from numerous MSS, with Prefaces, Notes, and a Glossary Early English Text Society, 1869

Part III.—The "Whitaker" Text, or Text C, with "Richard the Redeless" Early English Text Society, 1873

Part IV —Section I Notes to Texts A, B, C Early English Text Society, 1877

Part IV —Section II General Preface, Indexes, and Glossary. Early English Text Society, 1885

[Without forgetting Tyrwhitt's work upon the "Canterbury Tales," we may regard this as the most complete and scholarly edition of the text of an old English author that has ever been produced in England For general use its matter was digested into two library volumes in 1886 —]

"The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman," in three parallel texts, together with "Richard the Redeless," by William Langland (about 1362—1399 A D) Edited from numerous

Manuscripts, with Preface, Notes, and a Glossary by the Rev Walter W Skeat, Litt D, LL D, Elrington and Bosworth, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge Vol I, Text, Vol II, Preface, Notes, and Glossary Oxford At the Clarendon Press, MDCCCLXXXVI

[The Library edition for general use]

WYCLIF

NUMEROUS MSS, which will be found referred to in "A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif," by Walter Waddington Shirley, D D, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church Oxford At the Clarendon Press, 1865 This Catalogue enumerates 96 Latin works and 65 English that may be regarded as genuine There is a most important collection of Wyclif MSS, bound in forty volumes, in the Imperial Library at Vienna Another body of Wyclif MSS is in the University Library and in the Chapter Library at Prague A MS in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, B, 16, 2, contains twelve of Wyclif's philosophical treatises, arranged in their right order in two books, including the "De Ente," "De Scientia Dei," "De Potestate Dei," and the "Latin Sermons" The most important body of Wyclif's English writings is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, No 290 The whole collection of Wyclif's English Sermons, except those wrongly ascribed to him, is in a small thick folio MS in the Bodleian, Bodley, 788 Mr Thomas Arnold's edition was founded upon this MS, with a collation of others, of which he describes in his introduction eighteen that are to be seen in English libraries

PRINTED EDITIONS—

"Jo Wiclefi Dialogorum Libri quattuor" 4to, Basil, 1525

"Wycklyffes Wycket whiche he made in Kyng Rycard's Days the Second in the Yere of our Lorde God M CCC XLV The Testament of Maister William Tracie Esquier, expounded by Wylliam Tyndall Wherein thou shalt perceyue with what Charite the Chauncellor of Worcester burned when he toke up the deade Carcas and made Ashes of it after it was buried M D XXXV Imprynted at Noremburch, 1546" 16mo

"Wicklieffes Wicket, faythfully ouerseene and corrected after the original and first Copie The Lack whereof was cause of innumerable and shamfull Erroures in the other Edicion.

Hereunto is added an Epistle to the Reader, with the Protestation of Jhon Lassels, late burned in Smythfelde, and the Testament of Wyllyam Tracie, Esquire, expounded by Wyllam Tyndall, and Jhon Frythe Oversene by M C" 16mo [1548]

"Wickliffe's Wicket, or a learned and godly Treatise of the Sacrament made by John Wickliffe" Oxford, 1612 4to

A Reprint edited by T P Pantin Oxford, 1828 12mo

"The true Copye of a Prolog written about two C years past by John Wyckliffe, the original whereof is founde in an old English Bible, betwixte the Olde Testament and the Newe" London R Crowley, 1550 16mo

Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, D D, with Selections and Translations from his Manuscripts and Latin Works, with an Introductory Memoir by Robert Vaughan, D D 8vo London 1845

"Joannis Wiclif Trialogus cum supplemento Trialogi Illum recensuit, hoc primum edidit, utrumque commentario critico instruxit Gotthardus Lechler, Philosophiae ac theologiae Doctor, Hujus Professor Publicus Ordinarius in Academia Lipsiensi" 8vo Oxford Clarendon Press 1869

Select English Works of John Wyclif, edited from original MSS by Thomas Arnold, M A, of University College, Oxford Vol I, Sermons on the Gospels for Sundays and Festivals 8vo Oxford Clarendon Press 1869 Vol II, Sermons on the Ferial Gospels and Sunday Epistles Treatises Vol III, Miscellaneous Works Oxford Clarendon Press 1871

The English Works of Wyclif, hitherto unprinted Edited by F D Matthew 8vo Early English Text Society 1880

The Wyclif Society,

Founded by Dr F J Furnivall in 1882 for the purpose of getting into print all Wyclif's Latin Works from their MSS, began with

John Wyclif's Polemical Works in Latin, for the first time edited from the manuscripts, with Critical and Historical Notes by Rudolf Buddensieg English Edition Vol I, General Introduction Eleven Polemical Tracts against the Sects 1882 Vol II, Polemical Tracts against the Sects, xii—xx Polemical Tracts against the Pope, xxi—xxvi 1883

[Dedicated "to the Master of Wiclif Research, Gotthard Lechler, D D" Contains three Indices 1, of Names, 2, of Bible quotations, 3, General Index]

"Joannis Wiclif de Compositione Hominis," for the first time edited by Rudolf Beer 1884

[Wyclif's first purely philosophical writing, loaded with quotations]

"Johannis Wycliffe Tractatus de Civili Dominio, Liber Primus " Now first edited from the unique Manuscript at Vienna by Reginald Lane Poole, M A , Balliol College, Oxford, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Leipzig, formerly of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum 1885

[The first of three books, which are 3, 4, 5 of the twelve that make up Wyclif's " Summa in Theologia,' believed to exist only in a single copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna]

"Johannis Wycliffe Dialogus, sive speculum Ecclesiæ Militantis , " now first edited from the Ashburnham MS , xxvii C, with collations from the Vienna MSS , 1,387, 3,930 and 4,505 By Alfred W Pollard, M A , St John's College, Oxford 1886

[Dialogue between Veritas and Mendacium, not later than 1382 Ten MSS , nine at Vienna and Prague, one in Lord Ashburnham's collection]

"Johannis Wyclif Tractatus de Benedicta Incarnacione " Now first printed from the Vienna and Oriel MSS , and edited with notes and indices by Edward Harris, M A , Lincoln College, Oxford 1886

[Written before 1367, when Wyclif was still Theologian of the Schools, not yet Reformer]

"Johannis Wyclif Sermones " Now first edited from the MSS with Critical and Historical Notes by Dr Johann Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz (English side notes by F D Matthew) In Four Volumes Vol I , "Super Evangelia Dominicalia " 1887 Vol II "Super Evangelia de Sanctis " 1888. Vols III , IV 1890

"Johannis Wyclif De Officio Regis " Edited by A W Pollard and C Sayle 1887

[This is the 8th Book of the " Summa Theologiæ "]

"Johannis Wyclif De Dominio Divino " Edited by Dr R L Poole, with, as Appendix, Richard Fitzralph (Archbishop of Armagh), " De Pauperie Salvatoris," never before printed 1888

Johannis Wyclif Tractatus de Apostasia Now first edited from the Vienna MSS 1,343 and 3,935 By Michael Henry Dziewicki 1889

[This is the 11th Book of the " Summa Theologiæ " written in

the latter half of 1383 It includes much of the Friars and of the doctrine of Transubstantiation]

WILLIAM OF PALERNE—ALISAUNDER

ONE MS in the Library of King's College, Cambridge The French Original in Paris Arsenalbibl B L F 178

PRINTED EDITION

The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werwolf, edited from an Unique Copy in King's College Library, Cambridge, with an Introduction and Glossary by Frederick Madden, Esq , F R S , F S A , M R S L , Assistant Keeper of the MSS in the British Museum, London Printed for the Roxburgh Club 1832

"The Romance of William of Palerne ' (otherwise known as the "Romance of William and the Werwolf"), translated from the French at the command of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, about A D 1350 , to which is added a Fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alisaunder, translated from the Latin by the same author about A D 1340 The former ie edited from the Unique MS in the Library of King's College, Cambridge , the latter now first edited from the Unique MS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford , by the Rev Walter W Skeat, M A , &c Early English Text Society, 1867

Fragments of "Alisaunder" are in Bodleian, Greaves MS 60 , Ashmole, 44 , Bodley, 264

[The editions of many romances and their MSS having been given in notes to the text, I only repeat here a few references to MSS in which they are found]

Sir Ferumbras Bodleian, Ashmole MS , 33

Sowdone of Babylone and Ferumbras his Son Unique MS , formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps, now in possession of the Rev John E A Fenwick, Thirlstane House, Cheltenham

"Sir Otuel " Auchinleck MS , Edinburgh

"Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spain " Brit Mus Additional MS , 31,042

"The Siege of Melayne" (by Charlemagne) is in the same MS

"The Aunters of Arthur at the Tarnewathelan " Bodleian, Douce MS , Thornton MS at Lincoln, Ireland MS in Hale

"Morte Arthure " Thornton MS of Lincoln

"Joseph of Arimathea " Vernon MS , fol 403

"Pystyl of Swete Swsane" Oxford, Vernon MS, fol 317 Brit Mus, Bibl Cotton Calig A ii [Printed editions in Laing's "Select Remains of Scottish Poetry," Edinburgh, 1822, and printed by Horstmann from the Vernon MS in Anglia I, 33—101]

"Sir Gawayne, the Pearl, Patience, and Cleanness" Brit Mus, Cotton MS, Nero A x

SIR GOWTHER

Two MSS, Edinburgh Advocates' Library, MS 19 3 1, Brit Mus, King's MS 17B, xliii

PRINTED EDITION

"Sir Gowther Eine Englische Romanze aus dem XV Jahrhundert kritisch herausgegeben, nebst einer litterarhistorischen Untersuchung uber ihre Quelle sowie den gesammten ihr verwandten Sagen- und Legenden Kreis, mit zugrundelegung der Sage von Robert dem Teufel, von K W Breul" Oppeln 1886

[This East Midland romance of the early part of the 15th century was first printed by Utterson in 1817, in his "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry" In 756 lines, arranged in twelve line stanzas for the use of a wandering reciter, it tells a tale of the Robert the Devil type, with the scene laid in Austria]

AMIS AND AMILOUN

FOUR MSS Brit Mus, Harleian 2,386 Edinburgh, Auchinleck MS in Advocates' Library Bodleian, Douce MS 326 MS in possession of the Duke of Sutherland

PRINTED EDITIONS

Included in Weber's Metrical Romances [Vol II, pages 367—473] 3 Vols Edinburgh 1810

"Amis and Amiloun zugleich mit der Alt franzosischen Quelle herausgegeben von Eugen Kolbing Nebst einer Beilage, Amicus ok Amilíus Rímur" Heilbronn 1884.

[This old romance of friendship is very fully supplied by Dr Kolbing with 130 pages of Introduction, besides the French original and a Scandinavian version Also the volume gives the Latin prose version, "Vita Amici et Amelii carissimorum"

INDEX

B

C

LAST LEAVES

As this volume brings the record of our Literature to the days of the first printed books, title-pages will be supplied for the use of any who may wish to bind the first six volumes of "English Writers" separately as a History of English Literature from the Earliest Times to the Invention of Printing

But there is no break in the story We have reached only a hut above the lower slopes of the old mountain, "where the prospect opens wide" Without a pause, as we draw strength from the pure air, we seek, as far as may be, with clear eyes and minds, to find sure footing and press on That mountain of ours, upheaved from the depths of life, is only a larger part of the same Nature that raised the Matterhorn, and dare I hope to be as the village guide upon the Matterhorn, Jean Antoine Carrel, who spent his life in exploration of the mountain by which he was born, and died at the foot of it in act of help to others who desired to climb God give us all strength to work, in our own ways, as faithfully and simply as that poor Swiss guide

I have stumbled about my Matterhorn since A, B, C, and still am stumbling as a child, with grown sense of a vast unknown, and of imperfect knowledge of the very ground we tread Years ago a young student came to me at the beginning of a college session and said, "I don't know whether I need study English Literature I know about Pope, Chaucer, Dryden, and all that What is there

more?" Either he turned critic, or years lowered his opinion of what he knew, as he grew wiser Another young beginner said, "I want to work at English thoroughly, to know everything, and be a master of the subject," all which he hoped to achieve within the two or three years of a college course—"And be a Master!" Again let me quote that "Triumphal Chariot of Antimony," wherein Basil Valentine declared that the shortness of life makes it impossible for one man thoroughly to learn Antimony

Of the twenty volumes in which it was first designed to show, as far as human ignorance allows, in right perspective from one point of view, the one life of a people set forth by its literature, six were assigned to that part which is now finished, and the remaining fourteen will suffice for what is left to follow If life last, I hope not only to proceed without pause in half-yearly issue, but to recover the time lost in breaking out of London

Professor Skeat's recent edition of Chaucer's "Legend of Good Women" was not published, or its publication was not known to me, when the chapter on that poem was prepared for the last volume of "English Writers" The reader, therefore, is especially referred to what is said of it in the "Bibliography" on pages 351-2 of the present volume

H M

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